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ABSTRACT

This curriculum material, part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues, addresses the issues arising from the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. On the morning of September 11, 2001, as people watched in horror, terrorist attacks were successfully launched against the United States. The initial questions of who would execute such an attack and why were soon followed by other questions. This unit provides teachers and students with a thorough introduction to responding to terrorism and invites students to join in the debate. To prepare for the debate, the unit provides extensive background reading. The core framework is a unit of four policy options allowing students to consider a range of alternatives for U.S. policy toward terrorism. The teacher's resource book contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The lesson for Day One seeks to arrive at a working definition of terrorism through the use of case studies. Using political cartoons, Day Two offers students the opportunity to examine differing perspectives on the issues raised by September 11, 2001. Subsequent lessons feature a simulation where students assume the role of advocates for the four options. It concludes with students developing their own options and applying their views to hypothetical crises. An alternative three-day lesson plan is also included. Part one of the student text examines the historical origins and purposes of terrorism as well as its evolution over the years. Part two explores the content and context of Osama bin Laden's call to violence against the United States, including the politics of the contemporary Middle East. Students are confronted with the same questions facing U.S. policymakers: What are the potential threats against the U.S.? What is the best way to respond?; What must be done overseas? and What should be done here at home? The curriculum material provides four possible options for

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dealing with terrorism: (1) "Direct an Expanded Assault on Terrorism"; (2) "Support UN Leadership to Fight Terrorism"; (3) "Defend Our Homeland"; and (4) "Address the Underlying Causes of Terrorism." Supplementary documents and a list of nine supplementary resources are appended. (BT)

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Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy

Teacher's Resource Book [and Student Text]

Public Policy Debate in the Classroom

Choices for the 21st Century Education Program

A Program of the
Thomas J. Watson Jr.
Institute for International Studies

Brown University

SO 033 732

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CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Teacher's Resource Book

Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy

We the People

PUBLIC POLICY DEBATE IN THE CLASSROOM

Choices for the 21st Century Education Program

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Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy is part of a continuing series on public policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

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for the 21st Century
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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program is a program of the **Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies** at Brown University.

Thomas J. Biersteker
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THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROGRAM is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

THE THOMAS J. WATSON JR. INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners, who are committed to analyzing contemporary global problems and developing initiatives to address them.

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About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment — essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note to Teachers

On the morning of September 11, 2001, Americans watched in horror as an unthinkable drama unfolded. Terrorist attacks had been successfully launched against the United States on American soil. The initial questions of who would execute such an attack and why were soon followed by other questions: How should we respond to the terrorists? Are there more attacks planned, and what will be their nature? How do we protect ourselves against future attacks? In the weeks and months following September 11, Americans would focus on finding answers to all the difficult questions raised that morning.

Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy invites students to join in the debate and the decision making on this difficult issue. To prepare for this debate, the unit provides extensive background reading. Part I of the reading traces the history and evolution of terrorism, showing how tactics and objectives have changed from the French Revolution to the present. Part II looks specifically at al Qaeda and the events of September 11. The role of political Islam is examined, as is U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East. Finally, Part III looks at responding to terrorism, with consideration of why we are targets, what the possible threats are, and what issues complicate the response.

At the core of the unit is a framework of four distinct policy options that allow students to consider a range of alternatives for U.S. policy toward terrorism. By exploring a wide-ranging spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the values underlying specific policy recommendations and the trade-offs that accompany each of the choices.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher's Resource Book accompanying *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The lesson for Day One begins by attempting to arrive at a working definition of terrorism through the use of case studies. It moves on to a discussion of Part I of the background readings. Day Two offers students the opportunity to examine differing perspectives on the issues raised by September 11 using political cartoons from the United States and around the world. The third and fourth days of the lesson plan feature a simulation in which students assume the role of advocates for the four options. The lesson plan concludes with students developing their own options and applying their views to hypothetical crises. You may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful.

- **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of background reading is accompanied by two distinct study guides. The standard study guide is designed to help students harvest the information provided in the background readings in preparation for analysis and synthesis within classroom activities. The advanced study guide requires analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

- **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The background reading in *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them the "Key Terms" found in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB-35) before they begin their assignment. A "Responding to Terrorism Issues Toolbox" is included on page TRB-36. This provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance to understanding the background reading.

The lesson plans offered in *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* are provided as a guide. They are designed for traditional class periods of approximately 50 minutes. Those on block schedules will need to make adaptations. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy offers many connections to the social studies curriculum. Whether the course is U.S. history, world history, government, or a survey of contemporary affairs, use of *Responding to Terrorism: Challenges for Democracy* opens the door to the exploration of a variety of complementary issues. Below are a few ideas about topics for further consideration.

Is Islam in conflict with the West? A few scholars, most notably Samuel Huntington, have suggested that the civilizations of the West and the Islamic world are locked in fundamental conflict. Political leaders on both sides of the cultural divide have fanned the flames of tensions. At the same time, moderate voices have stepped up their efforts to promote reconciliation and mutual understanding.

When is the use of force justified? Which interests and values should be defended by military means? What lessons should we learn from our alliances in World War II, the Vietnam War, the Persian Gulf War, the war in the Balkans, and the war in Afghanistan?

Where is the world headed in the next century? Will democratic ideals spread throughout the world, or will countries turn to dictators in times of trouble? Will war become obsolete, or will the proliferation of sophisticated weapons increase conflict? Will increasing interdependence undercut the importance of the nation-state and lead to world government, or will nations become more protective of their sovereignty? Will the way we think about the world fundamentally change, or will our outlook remain basically the same? How will our role in the world be different in this century?

What are our most important civic values? Our belief in freedom, justice, and democracy? Our pragmatism? Our visionary idealism and belief in equal rights? Our self-reliance and competitiveness? Our attachment to individualism and the free market?

What should be our relationship with the international community? Will the power of the UN, the World Trade Organization, and other international bodies grow as the world continues to shrink? Should the United States refrain from taking action abroad without the support of other countries?

How does the world work? Do international affairs revolve around a contest between good and evil, in which our foreign policy decisions should be seen as moral choices? Do we live in a world of relentless competition, in which we cannot afford to fall behind other leading powers? Is the world essentially interdependent, in that we will all sink or swim together?

Is world peace attainable? Will the expansion of international trade and the advancement of communication technologies reduce the risk of war? Will the nations of the developing world in the 21st century repeat the carnage suffered by the developed world in the 20th century?

Are Western values universal? Do people around the world want the same freedoms and democratic system that we have? Will our free-market economic system and consumer-oriented society eventually prevail throughout the globe? Which cultures present the strongest opposition to the values of the West?

Defining Terrorism

Objectives:

Students will:
- Examine the evolution of terrorism.
- Explore a framework for analyzing political violence and terrorism.
- Apply this framework with their classmates to historical and contemporary case studies.
- Develop a working definition of terrorism.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Introduction and Part I in the student text (pages 1-8) and completed "Study Guide — Part I" in the Teacher's Resource Book (TRB 4-5) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part I" (TRB-6).

Handouts:

- "Revolutionaries or Terrorists?" (TRB 7-10).

In the Classroom:

1. *Setting the Stage*— Distribute "Revolutionaries or Terrorists?" to students and ask them to read the material up to the case studies. Call on students to identify the points of disagreement that emerged in the United Nations' debates on terrorism. What arguments were made against condemning terrorism? List the items on the chalkboard. Ask students to speculate about what the Cuban representative to the UN might have been referring to.

2. *Exploring legal and ethical judgements* — Ask students to identify the standards the international community has established for when force may be used. Ask students to review the standards the international community has used for how force may be used. Have them list several examples of political violence, citing either examples from wars or terrorist acts. Explore these examples in terms of the decisions to use violence and how violence was employed. Are there examples of unjustifiable decisions to use force? Are there examples when the use of force was justifiable, but the kind of force used was not?

3. *Case Studies* — Form groups of three to five students each and ask the students to consider the case studies in "Revolutionaries or Terrorists?". Emphasize that the intent is for students to explore the debate over legitimate and illegitimate uses of force and the distinction between terrorists and freedom fighters. Assign a student from each group to record the group's conclusions.

4. *Sharing Conclusions* — After the groups have completed the worksheet, invite group spokespersons to share their conclusions. Which cases did they label as terrorism? Were there cases that were particularly difficult to decide? Why? Challenge students to come up with a working definition of terrorism based on specific criteria.

Extra Challenge: Can the actions of states be considered terrorism? Ask students to write a short essay that explores this question and gives specific examples that support their answers.

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 9-13) and complete "Study Guide — Part II" (TRB 12-13) or "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-14).

Study Guide - Part I

1. Explain this statement: " . . . [Terrorist] groups have acted out of political motivations, not merely out of a desire for senseless acts of violence."

2. What two lessons did terrorists throughout the world learn from the attack on the Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics?

   a.

   b.

3. What situations did the early laws against terrorism address?

4. The reading says that state-sponsored terrorism increased after the American hostage crisis in Iran. What did many governments learn from that event?

5. How does the United States try to strike back at state-sponsored terrorism?

6. What argument have critics of U.S. military strikes against terrorism made?

7. Of the various causes that motivate terrorists, which one has shown a sharp increase in the past decade?

8. What motivated the terrorists in the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993?

9. Who were the targets of Baruch Goldstein's attack? Why?

10. The Sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway was the first use of a new kind of terrorism. How did it differ from earlier attacks?

11. In your own words, list four common factors that help explain motivations and methods of religious terrorists of different religions.

12. Why has the U.S. government become increasingly concerned about terrorism?

Advanced Study Guide — Part I

1. Why was the hostage crisis at the Munich Olympics a turning point in terrorism?

2. The past decade has seen a sharp rise in religious terrorism. What motivates these terrorists?

3. How have these new terrorists changed the way terrorism is carried out?

Revolutionaries or Terrorists?

Throughout history, the world has known political violence and war. For centuries political and religious thinkers from many traditions have wrestled with two key questions. When is the use of force acceptable? What principles govern how force that may be used? These two questions are a central to something known as "just war" theory.

These two questions and the concepts of just war theory may also be useful in considering terrorism. In past debates about terrorism, some have suggested that one person's terrorist is another's freedom fighter. Are these terms merely labels that have to do with whether one agrees or disagrees with the cause? Or is the distinction based on more concrete and objective grounds?

Today, just war theory underlies much of accepted international law concerning the use of force by states. International law is explicit about when states may use force. For example, states may use force in self-defense against an armed attack. International law also addresses how force may be used. For example, force may not be used against non-combatants. Despite these laws and norms, there are those who oppose the use of violence under any circumstances. For example, this commitment to non-violence led Mohandas Gandhi to build a movement of national liberation in India organized around the practice of non-violent resistance.

Over the years, the international community has been working to better define the rules of war. The Geneva Conventions established in the aftermath of World War II introduced new internationally accepted regulations on the conduct of war between states. These rules protect non-combatants, govern the treatment of prisoners of war, prohibit hostage-taking, and respect diplomatic immunity.

In addition, the concept of proportionality—long a part of just war theory—has gained new importance as the weapons of war have become increasingly destructive. Proportionality argues that it is wrong to use more force than is necessary to achieve success.

After the Second World War, the use of violence in struggles for self-determination and national liberation fueled a new aspect of the debate on legitimate use of force—the differences between freedom fighters and terrorists. For example, newly independent Third World nations and Soviet bloc nations argued that any who fought against the colonial powers or the dominance of the West should be considered freedom fighters, while their opponents often labeled them terrorists.

Following the violence at the 1972 Munich Olympics, UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim called on the General Assembly to discuss measures to prevent terrorism. Waldheim's suggestion provoked furious debate over the nature of terrorism and the role of armed struggle in national liberation.

"...all liberation movements are described as terrorists by those who have reduced them to slavery. ...[The term] terrorist [can] hardly be held to persons who were denied the most elementary human rights, dignity, freedom and independence, and whose countries objected to foreign occupation."

— UN Ambassador from Mauritania
Moulaye el-Hassan

Critics countered that this argument was misleading because it failed to consider the issue in its entirety. What mattered was not the justness of the cause (something that would always be subject to debate) but the legitimacy of the methods used. The ends, they argued, could not be used to justify the means.

State Terror?

During the UN debates on terrorism, some argued that the methods of violence used by states can be morally reprehensible and a form a terrorism.

"...the methods of combat used by national liberation movements could not be declared illegal while the policy of terrorism unleashed against certain peoples [by the armed forces of establish states] was declared legitimate."

—Cuban Representative to the UN

Day 1

By the late 1970s, significant portions of the international community (though not the United States) had decided to extend the protection of the Geneva Convention to include groups participating in armed struggle against colonial domination, alien occupation, or racist regimes; and to those exercising their right of self-determination. The significance of this change is that it seemed to extend legitimacy to the use of force by groups other than states.

The events of September 11 and the subsequent war on terrorism have led us to consider important questions concerning the use of force. When is force justified? What is a terrorist? How does a terrorist differ from a freedom-fighter? Who decides?

Instructions

In this activity, you will examine a series of cases studies. Using the standards of the international community, you are to decide if the case represents terrorism or some other form of political violence. For each case you should answer the following questions:

1) Does your group believe that the decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable?
2) Was how the force was used acceptable?
3) What is your view of the response of the state to the use of force ?

Be prepared to explain the reasons for your position. If your group can not come to an agreement on your position, you should be prepared to offer different opinions and provide justification for each.

Case Studies: Revolutionaries or Terrorists?

Northern Ireland: Northern Ireland has been the scene of political violence for many years. The region is currently a province of the United Kingdom, while the rest of the island of Ireland is a republic that gained its independence from Britain in 1921. Since that time, several unofficial military organizations, including the Irish Republican Army (IRA), have continued to fight for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. Other "paramilitaries" loyal to the United Kingdom have fought back. Between 1966 and 1999, more than 3,600 people were killed and nearly 36,000 injured. Most of the victims were innocent civilians caught in bombings and other acts of violence in Ireland and England. The British government has sometimes responded with force. In January 1972, in an incident known as Bloody Sunday, British paratroopers fired on protestors, killing fourteen and injuring another thirteen. Many of the paramilitaries declared cease-fires in the late 1990s as a peace process took shape. In April 1998, a peace accord that became known as the Good Friday Agreement led many to hope for a peaceful resolution of the political differences. However, violence has continued to plague the region. In August 1998, an IRA splinter group claimed responsibility for bombing a shopping center in the town of Omagh which killed 28 and wounded hundreds.

1) Does your group believe that the paramilitaries' decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable?

2) Was how the force was used acceptable?

3) What is your view of the response of the state to the paramilitaries' use of force ?

Chechnya: In 1994, Chechen armed separatists launched a military-style campaign designed to drive Russia out of Chechnya, part of the Russian Federation. The Chechens claimed to be fighting for freedom from an oppressive regime that prevented them from practicing their religion, Islam, and that offered no hope for the future. The Russian military used its weapons against civilians, killing more than 10,000 and displacing 500,000 from their homes. A peace treaty was reached in 1997, but fighting resumed between Russian troops and Chechens in the fall of 1999. Russian President Putin defended Russian military action in Chechnya, claiming that Chechnya was being used a springboard for international terrorism against Russia. In August 1999, Islamic rebels from Chechnya invaded the region of Dagestan in southern Russia. The Russian government claimed that foreign Islamic terrorists were fighting alongside the Chechens. In addition, the Russian government blamed the Chechen rebels for a series of September 1999 bombings of Moscow apartment buildings that killed several hundred Russians. These incidents provoked a strong military response from Moscow, including airstrikes against several Chechen towns and the capital of Grozny.

1) Does your group believe that the Chechens' decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable?

2) Was how the force was used acceptable?

3) What is your view of the response of the state to the Chechens' use of force ?

Chiapas: In the remote southern state of Chiapas, Mexico, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation began an armed rebellion against the Mexican government on January 1, 1994. The Zapatistas claimed to be fighting against poverty and injustice and for the rights of indigenous peoples. Led by a man referred to as Sub-Commander Marcos, hundreds of peasant soldiers, their faces covered by black ski masks or red bandanas, operated in the countryside. Although most Zapatistas carried weapons dating back to World War II, they occupied several key towns and attacked a regional military base. More than 100 people were killed in the uprising, including government soldiers, peasants, and government functionaries. The Zapatistas blew up telephone and electrical towers and detonated car bombs in Mexico City, injuring several people. The Mexican military responded with force, and international human rights groups accused the military of torturing villagers to get information about the rebels. Since 1995, the Zapatistas have been committed to negotiating with the Mexican government. Nonetheless, talks between the government and the Zapatistas have stalled. The conflict has pitted village against village, often spilling over into bloodshed. In 1997, for example, pro-government forces massacred 45 villagers for their support of the Zapatistas. At the same time, the Zapatistas rely on the Internet and cellular telephones to maintain a sophisticated communications network. Their website attracts thousands of visitors.

1) Does your group believe that the Zapatistas' decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable?

2) Was how the force was used acceptable?

3) What is your view of the response of the state to the Zapatistas' use of force ?

South Africa: When the South African government began its system of apartheid in 1948, the African National Congress, a political movement begun in the early 20th century, launched a campaign of non-violent resistance to the government's official system of racial segregation. However, after years of political struggle, the ANC had made no progress against the increasingly oppressive apartheid regime. In the early 1960s, the ANC decided that it would use violence to fight the white government, which denied black South Africans their most basic human rights, including access to education, the right to vote, and the right to live and travel where they wanted. Following the 1960 massacre of 69 black Africans by South African forces at a peaceful demonstration in Sharpeville, the ANC embarked on a campaign of sabotage against the country's infrastructure and armed resistance against South African government, including bombing several government buildings. The South African government continued to crack down on black South Africans as racially motivated violence plagued the country. In 1976, government forces killed more than 600 people in an uprising at the Soweto township.

1) Does your group believe that the ANC's decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable?

2) Was how the force was used acceptable?

3) What is your view of the response of the state to the ANC's use of force ?

The Weathermen Underground: In the late 1960s there was significant social and political unrest in the United States. Opposition mounted against the war in Vietnam, and there was growing frustration over the lack of progress on the issue of racism. Many protest groups developed, but one of the most radical was the Weathermen, whose objectives included not only an immediate end to the war in southeast Asia and to all racism, but to economic exploitation and sexism as well. Members of the Weathermen, most of whom were in their early twenties, believed change would come about only through armed revolution. In 1970 the Weathermen went underground. Over the next few years, they engaged in numerous activities, such as bombing government buildings (including the Pentagon) and various cooperate headquarters, causing damages in the hundreds of thousands of dollars. They also assisted convicted felons in jail breaks and participate in a Brinks holdup. These activities resulted in the deaths of policemen, innocent bystanders, and the Weathermen themselves. Little by little the members were either captured or chose to give themselves up.

1) Does your group believe that the Weathermen's decision to use force was acceptable and justifiable?

2) Was how the force was used acceptable?

3) What is your view of the response of the state to the Weathermen's use of force ?

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Interpreting Political Cartoons in the National and International Press

Objectives:

Students will:
- Interpret political cartoons, placing them in context.
- Identify the values and viewpoint of the cartoonist.

Required Reading:

Before the lesson, students should read "Part II: Al Qaeda and September 11" in the student text (pages 9-13) and complete "Study Guide — Part II" (TRB 12-13) or the "Advanced Study Guide — Part II" (TRB-14).

Handouts:

- Political Cartoons—National and International Press (TRB 15-19).

In the Classroom:

1) Getting Started—Distribute "Political Cartoons—National & International Press" to the class. Divide the class into groups of three or four each. Working in groups, have the students discuss each cartoon and answer the questions provided. Emphasize that students should draw on Part I and Part II of the background reading to answer the discussion questions. (Space has been provided for questions 1-3. Question 4 will need to be answered on a separate sheet of paper.)

2) Identifying Key Ideas—After the groups have answered the discussion questions, select a few of the cartoons to discuss as a class.

3) Drawing Connections—Selecting several cartoons from the collection, focus discussion on how the nationality of the publisher is reflected in the cartoon. Are there other cartoons in the collection addressing the same issue? How do the messages differ? How are they the same?

Homework:

Students should read "Part III: Responding to Terrorism" and "Options in Brief" in the student text (pages 15-25).

Study Guide – Part II

1. Osama bin Laden quickly emerged as the leading suspect in the planning of the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. What are bin Laden's complaints against the United States?

   a.

   b.

   c.

   d.

2. Give three reasons why many religious scholars say it is not correct to identify the religion of Islam as violent and intolerant.

   a.

   b.

   c.

3. Bin Laden says Muslims must conduct a *jihad* against the U.S., but many religious scholars say he is misusing the term. What do they say it means?

4. Why were most Americans confused by bin Laden's accusation that the U.S. had declared war on Islam?

5. Political Islam seeks to give one interpretation to all Islamic doctrine. Why are followers of this movement upset with many governments in the Middle East?

6. Why do they believe the free-market economic system encouraged by the United States is bad?

7. Why does the U.S. government fear political Islam, even when it doesn't involve terrorism?

8. Give two reasons why the U.S. is active in the Middle East.

   a.

   b.

9. Why has Israel always enjoyed special relations with the United States?

10. Why does the U.S. military presence in the Middle East create tensions?

11. "While concentrating on security issues, U.S. policymakers have paid much less attention to promoting democracy and human rights in the Middle East." Give two examples from the readings to support this statement.

    a.

    b.

12. Why are Iran and Iraq special problems for the U.S.?

Advanced Study Guide – Part II

1. Explain Osama bin Laden's quarrel with the West in general and the United States in particular.

2. What are the arguments set forth by many religious scholars who think bin Laden and al Qaeda do not represent the true teachings of Islam?

3. What is political Islam and why is it problematic for the United States?

4. Explain why the U.S. feels it must take an active role in the Middle East, including the Persian Gulf region.

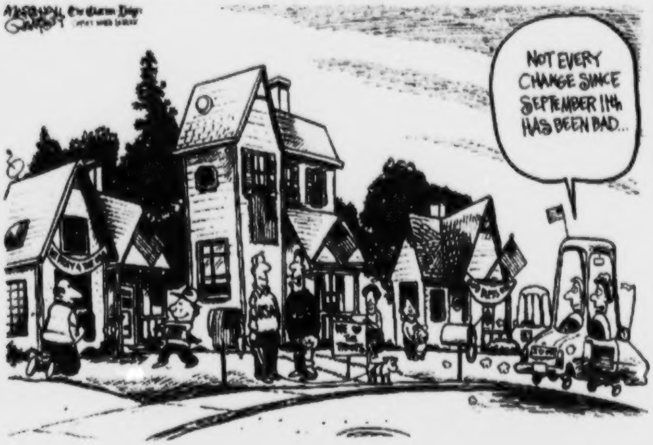
16627.job Process Black 02/13/200208:01:05

Political Cartoons in the National and International Press

The strong feelings raised by politics and international issues are the fodder of political cartoonists around the world. Cartoons not only reflect the events of the times, but they often offer an interpretation or express a strong opinion about these events as well. The cartoons in this collection address issues raised by the September 11 attacks and the current war on terrorism. They come not only from the American press but also from sources around the world.

Answer questions 1-3 in the space below each cartoon. Question 4 should be answered on a separate sheet of paper.

1. Who or what is depicted in the cartoon?
2. Does the cartoon have a particular point of view? What is it?
3. Where did this cartoon appear? Is the country of origin important to an understanding of the message?
4. Focusing on one cartoon in the collection, are there others addressing the same issue? How do the messages differ? How are they the same?

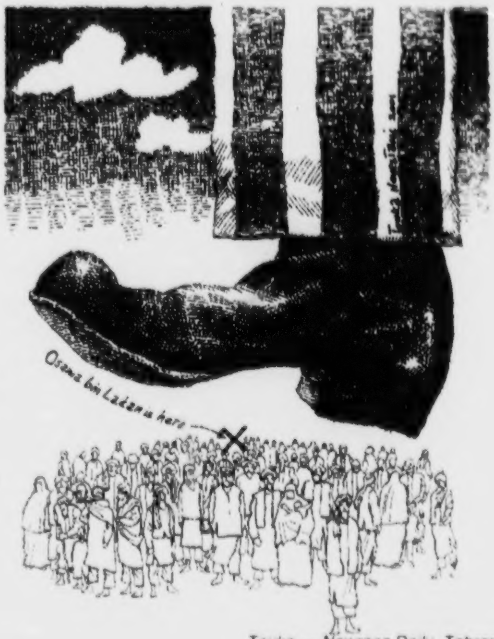

NOT EVERY CHANGE SINCE SEPTEMBER 11th HAS BEEN BAD...

Marshall Ramsey — The Clarion Ledger, Jackson, Mississippi

1.

2.

3.

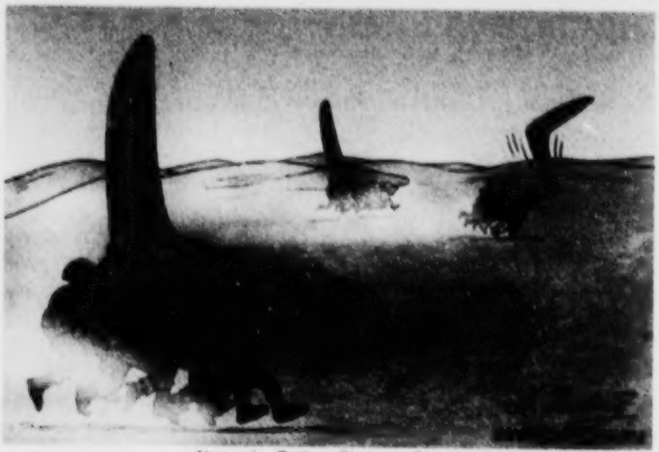

Osama bin Laden is here

Touka — Nowrooz Daily, Tehran, Iran

1.

2.

3.

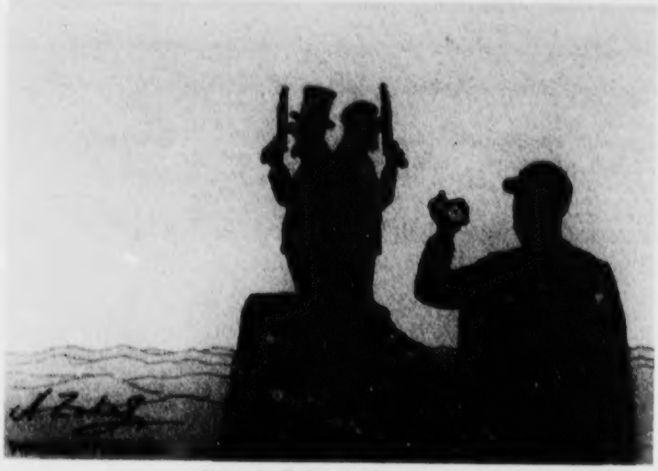


Alexander Zudin—Obshaya Gazette, St. Petersburg, Russia

1.

2.

3.



Alexander Zudin—Obshaya Gazette, St. Petersburg, Russia

1.

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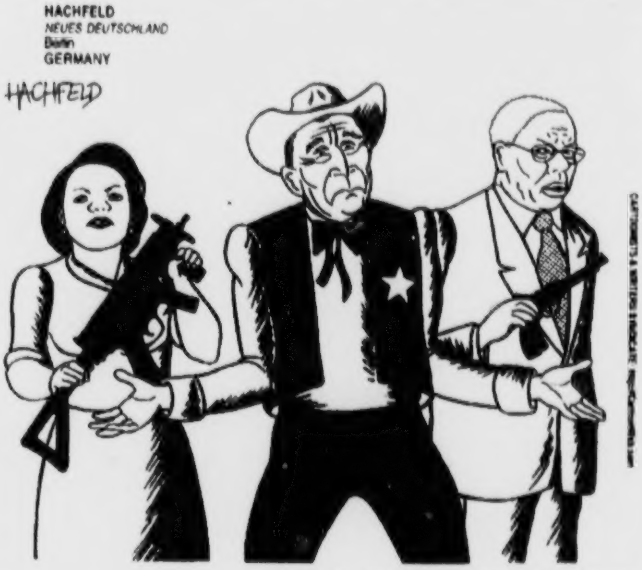
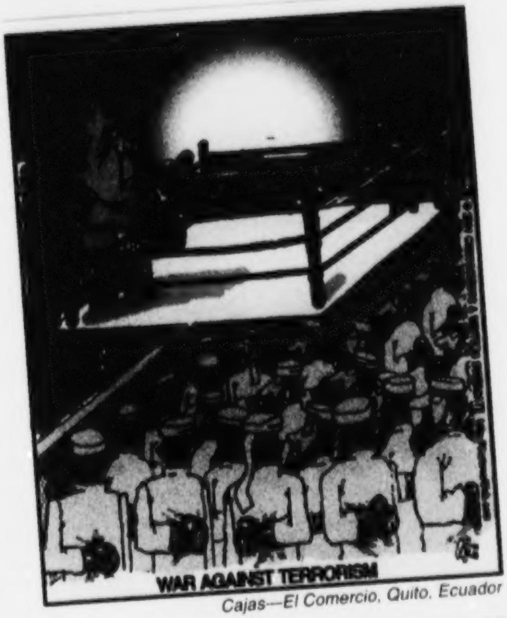

HACHFELD
NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
Berlin
GERMANY
HACHFELD

Hachfeld—Neues Deutschland, Berlin, Germany

1.

2.

3.

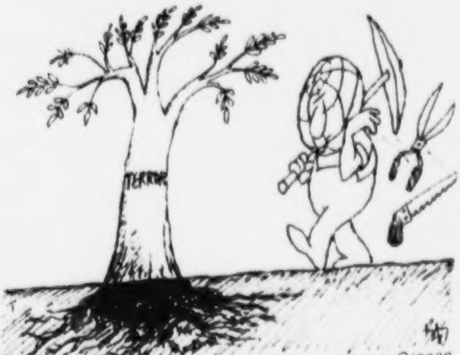

WAR AGAINST TERRORISM

Cajas—El Comercio, Quito, Ecuador

1.

2.

3.

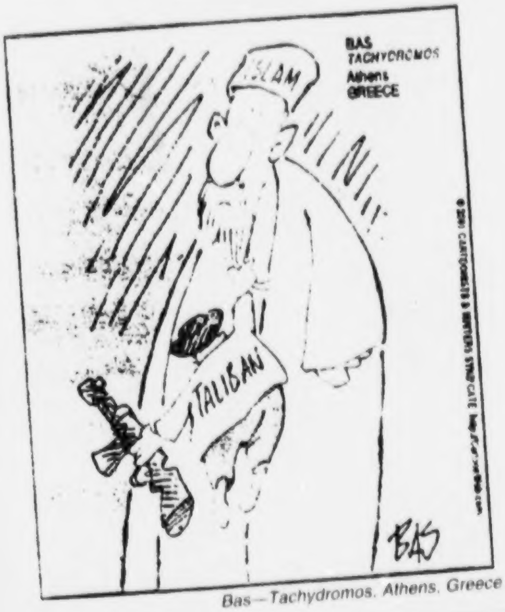


Bas—Tachydromos, Athens, Greece

1.

2.

3.


BAS
TACHYDROMOS
Athens
GREECE
ISLAM
TALIBAN
BAS

Bas—Tachydromos, Athens, Greece

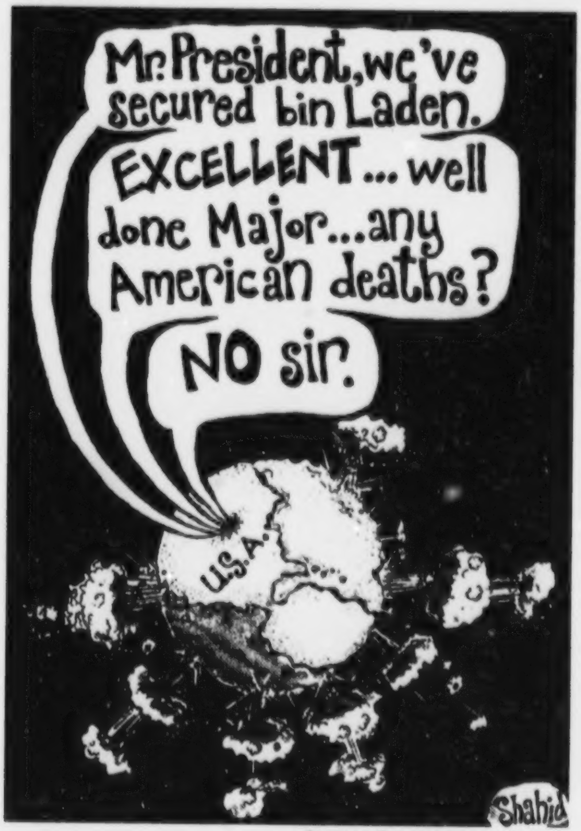
1.

2.

3.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SHAHID
CHOWK
Karachi
PAKISTAN


Mr. President, we've secured bin Laden.
EXCELLENT... well done Major... any American deaths?
NO sir.
U.S.A.
Shahid

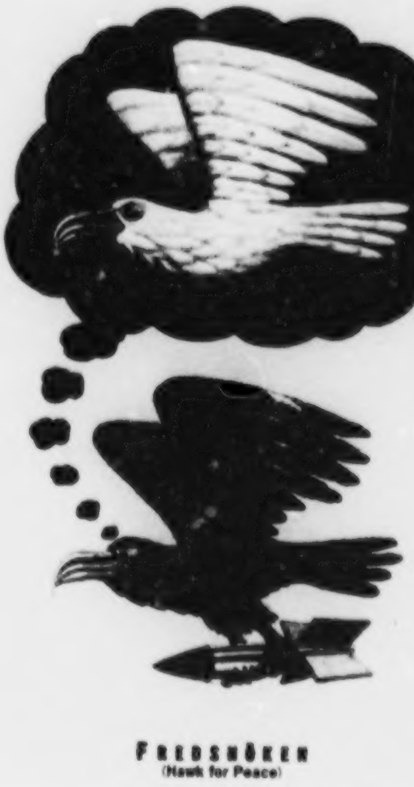
CARTOONISTS & WRITERS SYNDICATE http://CartoonWeb.com

Shahid—Chowk, Karachi, Pakistan

1.

2.

3.

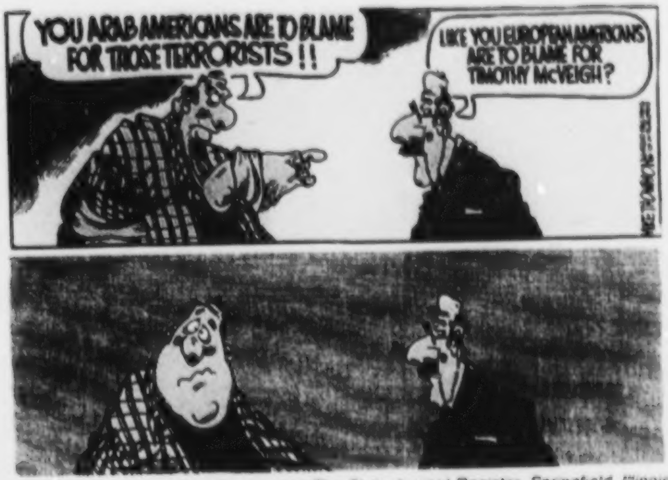

FREDSHÖKEN
(Hawk for Peace)

Leif Zetterling—Sweden

1.

2.

3.



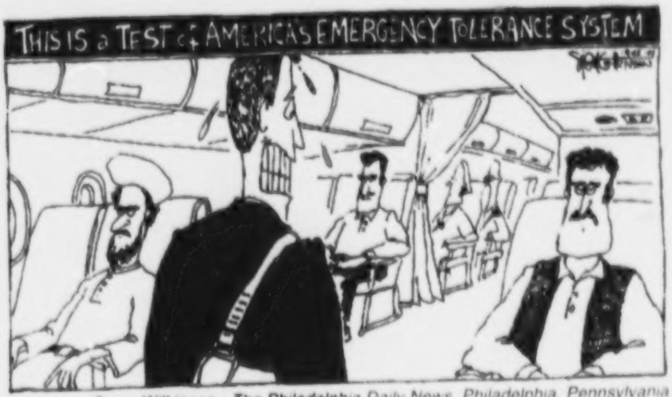
YOU ARAB AMERICANS ARE TO BLAME FOR THOSE TERRORISTS !!
LIKE YOU EUROPEAN AMERICANS ARE TO BLAME FOR TIMOTHY McVEIGH?
MIKE THOMPSON

Mike Thompson—The State Journal-Register, Springfield, Illinois

1.

2.

3.



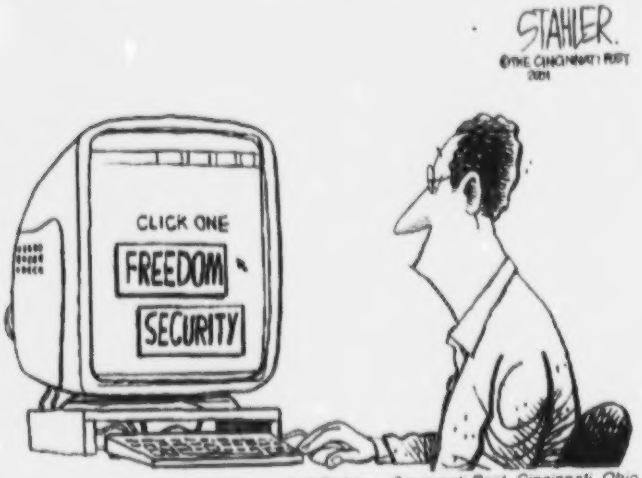
THIS IS a TEST of AMERICA'S EMERGENCY TOLERANCE SYSTEM

Signe Wilkinson—The Philadelphia Daily News, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

1.

2.

3.



STAHLER.
©THE CINCINNATI POST 2001
CLICK ONE
FREEDOM
SECURITY

Jeff Stahler—Cincinnati Post, Cincinnati, Ohio

1.

2.

3.

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Options Role Play: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues that frame the current debate on U.S. policy on terrorism.
- Understand the perspectives of other countries.
- Identify the underlying values of the options.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Handouts:

- "Presenting Your Option" (TRB-24): option groups
- "Expressing Key Values" (TRB-25): option groups
- "Input from UN Members" (TRB-26): UN countries group
- "UN Members—Issues of Concern" (TRB-27): UN countries group
- "U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee" (TRB-28): committee members

In the Classroom:

1. *Planning for Group Work* — In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period of Day Three, students will be preparing for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

2a. *Option Groups* — Form four groups of four students each. Assign an option to each group. Distribute "Presenting Your Option" and "Expressing Key Values" to the four option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon in Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Explain that option groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Option." Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role. [You may also want to give the "foreign policy advisors" a copy of "UN Members—Issues of Concern" (TRB-27).]

2b. *UN Countries* — Assign one or two students to be representative(s) from each UN member described in "UN Members—Issues of Concern" (TRB-27). Distribute "Input from UN Members" (TRB-26) and "UN Members—Issues of Concern" (TRB-27). Inform students that, following the options presentations on Day Four, they will be asked to present their nations' concerns to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

2c. *Committee Members* — The remainder of the class will serve as members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Distribute "U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee" to each committee member. While the option groups and UN Members are preparing their presentations, committee members should develop cross-examination questions for Day Four. (See "U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.") Remind committee members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Suggestions:

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as members of the Senate committee. In larger classes assign larger groups for each UN nation.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the option groups to design a poster or a political cartoon illustrating the best case for their options. Ask the UN members to design posters illustrating their perspectives.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Study Guide — Part III
"Responding to Terrorism"

1. Give two reasons why the U.S. has been targeted by terrorists.

   a.

   b.

2. What kinds of terrorist threats do Americans face today?

3. Now that Russia is no longer our enemy, why do we fear Russian nuclear weapons?

4. List two forms of action the U.S. has taken against al Qaeda.

   a.

   b.

5 How has the UN tried to limit nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons?

6. The events of Sept. 11 affected U.S. foreign policy. Give two examples.

a.

b.

7. List five domestic issues or areas of concern where the United States must balance the need to protect ourselves with the tradition of being an open society.

a.

b.

c.

d.

e.

8. The Bush administration would like to try some terrorists who are not U.S. citizens in military tribunals rather than in the criminal court system. What are the reasons for this? Why does it worry some people?

Advanced Study Guide — Part III
"Responding to Terrorism"

1. Why has the United States been targeted by terrorists?

2. A quote from one government study says, "Americans will likely die on American soil, possibly in large numbers." Cite concerns that support the statement.

3. Why is the U.S. at odds with some of the UN efforts to limit nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons?

4. The reading states, "As the war against terrorism continues, the United States will likely continue to forge new alliances, some of convenience and some of shared principle." Give examples of both kinds of alliances that the United States has already made in the war against terrorism.

5. What are some of the domestic policy concerns that the United States faces in the war on terrorism?

Presenting Your Option

Preparing Your Presentation

Your Assignment: Your group has been called upon to appear before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Your assignment is to persuade the committee members that your option should be the basis for U.S. policy on terrorism. You will be judged on how well you present your option.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role. Before preparing your sections of the presentation, work together to address the questions on the "Expressing Key Values" sheet.

1. *Spokesperson:* Your job is to organize your group's three- to five-minute presentation of its option to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In organizing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. Read your option and review the background reading to build a strong case for your option. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you and your group to organize your thoughts. Keep in mind that, although you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group, your group will be expected to make the presentation together.

2. *Legal Advisor:* Your job is to explain why your group's option best addresses the legal issues at stake in dealing with terrorism. Carefully read your option and then review the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

3. *Foreign Policy Advisor:* Your job is to explain why your group's option best addresses the foreign policy challenges presented by international terrorism. Carefully read your option and then review the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

4. *Domestic Policy Advisor:* Your job is to explain why your group's option best addresses the domestic policy challenges presented by international terrorism. Carefully read your option and then review the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

5. *Historian:* What lessons can be drawn from history to support your group's position? Carefully read your option and then review the background reading with this question in mind. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are completed, your group will deliver a three- to five-minute presentation to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and other notes may be used, but speakers should speak clearly and convincingly. During the presentations of other options, you should try to identify their weak points. After all of the groups have presented their options, members of the Senate committee will ask you cross-examination questions. Any member of your group may respond during the cross-examination period.

Expressing Key Values

Values play a key role when defining the broad parameters of public policy. What do we believe about ourselves? What matters most to us? When strongly held values come into conflict, which is most important?

The term "values" is not easy to define. Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values. Values play a critical role in our civic life as well. In the United States, our country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. Since our nation's beginnings a commitment to freedom, democracy, and individual liberty have been a cornerstone of our national identity. At the same time, the high value many Americans place on justice, equality, and respect for the rights of others rings loudly throughout U.S. history.

For most of our country's existence, the impulse to spread American values beyond our borders was outweighed by the desire to remain independent of foreign entanglements. Since World War II, however, the United States has played a larger role in world affairs than any other nation. At times, American leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, the values of stability and security have been stressed.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. Americans are constantly being forced to choose among competing values in our ongoing debate about foreign policy. Each of the four options in this unit revolves around a distinct set of values. The opening paragraphs of your assigned option offer a description of a policy direction grounded in distinct values. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values underlying your option. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your option?

    a.

    b.

2. According to the values of your option, what should be the role of the United States in the world?

3. How do the values of your option guide your option's policy on terrorism?

Input from UN Members

Each member of your group is serving as the ambassador to the United States from a different country. After each of the policy options have been presented to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, you will be called upon individually to give a brief statement on behalf of your country. Your job is not to voice your opinion on the four options presented. Rather, you are expected to inform the committee members about policy issues of concern to you. This worksheet will help you prepare your presentation.

1. What does the Senate Foreign Relations Committee need to know about how your country sees the war on terrorism?

2. What might your country be able to contribute to the war on terrorism?

3. What constraints does your country have in addressing terrorism?

UN Members—Issues of Concern

Russia: For years Russia has battled with Islamic separatists in Chechnya—a region in the southern part of your country. Your government has called the separatists "terrorists" and held them responsible for bomb explosions near Moscow that killed 300 innocent civilians as well as other terrorist attacks. You have also accused foreign terrorists of campaigning in Chechnya and leading an invasion into Dagestan, also in southern Russia. For years the United States criticized the Russian army's use of force in Chechnya. Since September 11, this criticism has been muted. Russia provided the United States valuable intelligence information as well as military support in Afghanistan. Other important issues loom in your relationship with the United States, including NATO expansion into the Baltic states, important negotiations regarding the control of nuclear weapons, and the U.S. plan for national missile defense. In addition, in recent years, Russia has become one of the world's important exporters of oil—a development that is beginning to provide your country with sorely needed economic growth.

Pakistan: Your country has been on the front line of the U.S. military campaign in Afghanistan. Prior to the war, your government supported the Taliban regime. Many of your people still do. Your country is 97 percent Islamic. A vocal opposition in Pakistan resents the presence of U.S. military on Pakistani soil and opposes the U.S. campaign against Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda network. Many outsiders feel that Pakistan is a hotbed of Islamic extremism. Your neighbor India has accused your country of being behind a terrorist attack on the Indian parliament. Both India and Pakistan have mobilized their militaries. Nearly 1 million troops face each other across the border of the disputed province of Kashmir. Your leader, President Musharraf, a military general who took power in a coup, has promised to crack down on extremist groups in Pakistan. Three years ago, your country's relations with the United States took a turn for the worse when you tested a nuclear weapon. Things have changed since September 11. In exchange for Pakistan's cooperation against al Qaeda, the United States has promised Pakistan forgiveness of debt, massive foreign aid, and improved relations. Both India and Pakistan possess nuclear weapons.

India: Your country is the second largest in the world and the world's largest democracy. While you support the U.S. war against terrorism, new American ties with Pakistan concern you. Your country is locked in a long-term dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir. In addition, your country believes that Pakistani-based terrorists were behind the armed suicide attack on your parliament on December 13, 2001. You have been subject to attacks by Islamic militants in Kashmir for years. Current U.S. assistance to Pakistan reminds you of the U.S. military assistance provided to Pakistan during the Cold War. These materials were used by the Pakistani military government to threaten India. Before September 11, it seemed that U.S.-Indian relations were improving. Now you are not sure. The United States has agreed to sell you advanced defensive military equipment to balance its growing ties with Pakistan. You are also concerned about your other powerful neighbor, China. Both India and Pakistan possess nuclear weapons.

Jordan: Jordan is considered a pro-Western country in the Middle East. Yours is one of four countries that have a free-trade agreement with the United States. In 1994, you signed an important peace treaty with Israel. Your king, King Abdullah, has considered sending troops to help the United States battle Osama bin Laden. Nonetheless, you country sits in a volatile location, bordering Israel, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Many of your citizens do not support the U.S. military campaign or U.S. policies in the Middle East. Your country has important economic relations with Iraq, which sells oil to you at greatly subsidized prices. In addition, you have served as Iraq's business gateway to the rest of the world. With unemployment at 13 percent and your economy so dependent on Iraq, Jordan is concerned about U.S. talk of bringing the war on terrorism to Iraq. Your country is only now beginning to recover from the economic impact of the Gulf War against Iraq in 1991.

Germany: As a member of NATO, your government has been a strong supporter of the United States, though two-thirds of the people of your country opposed the bombing campaign in Afghanistan. Your country served as the site for negotiations regarding the future of Afghanistan. You have offered troops to serve as peacekeepers in Afghanistan. However, both Germany and France are opposed to any expansion of the war to include Iraq. One of your principal concerns is that the United States will not consult adequately with other nations before undertaking further military action. As members of NATO and partners in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, you feel you deserve consultative rights as member of a true multilateral coalition.

U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Hearing on U.S. Policy on Terrorism

Your Role

As a member of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, you consider issues relating to our country's foreign policy. These hearings will introduce you to four distinct approaches that the U.S. could take to international terrorism.

Your Assignment

While the four option groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare two questions regarding each of the options. Your teacher will collect these questions at the end of Day Four.

Your questions should be challenging and critical. For example, a good question for Option 1 might be:

> *If the United States is not willing to share leadership with other countries in the war on terrorism, will we lose the cooperation of nations whose help we need?*

On Day Four, the four option groups and the UN nations group will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow committee members to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option groups. Part I should be filled out in class after the option groups and the UN Members have made their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After this activity is concluded, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the option groups.

Options Role Play: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on U.S. policy.
- Identify the perspectives of other nations.
- Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. policy.
- Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.
- Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

- "Evaluation Form" (TRB-30) for the committee members

In the Classroom:

1. *Setting the Stage* — Organize the room so that the four option groups face a row of desks reserved for the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the UN members group. Distribute "Evaluation Form" to the committee members. Instruct members of the committee to fill out the first part of their "Evaluation Form" during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. *Managing the Simulation* — Explain that the simulation will begin with three- to five-minute presentations by each of the option groups, followed by the presentations from the UN members. Encourage the group members to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. *Guiding Discussion* — Following the presentations, invite members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each committee member has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all four option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups and invite comments from representatives of the UN members. During cross-examination, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination following the presentation of each option.)

Homework:

Students should read each of the four options in the student text (pages 25-33), then moving beyond these options they should fill out "Focusing Your Thoughts" (TRB-32) and complete "Your Option Five" (TRB-33).

Evaluation Form

U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Part I

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option?	What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?
Option 1	*Option 1*
Option 2	*Option 2*
Option 3	*Option 3*
Option 4	*Option 4*

Part II

Which option group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

Which UN member presented its nation's position most effectively? Explain your answer.

Joining the Debate on U.S. Policy

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate coherent recommendations for U.S. policy on terrorism based on personally held values and historical understanding.
- Apply their policy recommendations to hypothetical crises.
- Identify the leading values and trade-offs in the current policy debate.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the four options in the student text (pages 25-33) and completed "Focusing Your Thoughts" (TRB-32) and "Your Option Five" (TRB-33).

Handouts:

- "Coping with Crisis" (TRB 34)

In the Classroom:

1. *Analyzing Beliefs* — Call on members of the Senate committee to share their evaluations of the option groups. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? What were the main concerns addressed by each of the options? by the UN Members?

2. *Comparing Viewpoints* — Students should have completed "Your Option Five" prior to class. Invite them to share their policy recommendations with the class. Encourage them to clarify the connection between their values and their policy recommendations. What values resonate most strongly among the students? Ask them to identify the beliefs in "Focusing Your Thoughts" that they most strongly support. What are the potential trade-offs of their Options? Ask students to compare the recommendations of class members with current U.S. policy. How would their policy recommendations change U.S. policy regarding terrorism?

3. *Applying Student Options* — Distribute "Coping with Crisis" to each student. Lead the class in reading the first hypothetical crisis. Call on students who presented their Option Five to respond to the scenario from the perspective of their Options. Invite others to assess the responses. Are they consistent with the principles that the students articulated earlier? What are the potential threats and opportunities posed by the crisis? How would U.S. leaders, past and present, respond to the crisis? Encourage other students to challenge the views of their classmates. Review the two remaining hypothetical crises, inviting participation from the entire class.

Suggestions:

Allow students to work in pairs or small groups before sharing their responses to the hypothetical crises. Students will discuss each crisis in their small group but respond to each individually, as they will draw from their own Option to do so. After students have responded to each crisis, bring the class together to share responses.

Extra Challenge:

As homework, instruct students to write a letter to a member of Congress or President Bush on their ideas for U.S. policy concerning international terrorism. The first part of the letter should summarize the ideas expressed in the first three questions of "Your Option Five." In the second part, students should offer their recommendations for U.S. policy toward pressing issues in the struggle against terrorism.

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions: You have had an opportunity to consider four options for U.S. policy toward terrorism. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages. After you complete this worksheet, you will be asked to develop your own option for U.S. policy toward terrorism.

Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Rank the options from "1" to "4," with "1" being your first choice.

___ **Option 1: Direct an Expanded Assault on Terrorism**

___ **Option 2: Support UN Leadership to Fight Terrorism**

___ **Option 3: Defend Our Homeland**

___ **Option 4: Address the Underlying Causes of Terrorism**

Beliefs

Considering the statements below will help you answer the first three questions of "Your Option Five." Rate each of the statements below according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ As part of a world community, the United States must cooperate with other nations to address international problems.

___ Meddling in the local affairs of other countries is counter-productive and dangerous.

___ Promoting American values abroad is a necessary part of building a more peaceful world.

___ The United States must formulate long-term foreign policy goals that govern our short-term decisions.

___ American values of freedom, democracy, and open markets will inevitably make the United States a target of hostility from people opposed to the American way of life.

___ Political disputes and cultural differences should not prevent the United States from cooperating with other countries to achieve America's foreign policy goals.

___ The United States must be willing to use its military might and its status as the world's superpower to keep the world safe for America and its allies.

___ As one of the world's wealthiest countries, the United States has a responsibility to address the poverty and despair of the world's less fortunate.

___ The United States must pursue its foreign policy goals by means consistent with the principles on which the country is based.

Creating Your Own Option

Your next assignment is to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from two or three options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, we cannot devote most of our resources to addressing domestic problems while also funding a major military build-up to fight terrorism overseas.

Name:

Your Option Five

Instructions: In this exercise, you will offer your own recommendations for U.S. policy toward terrorism. Your responses to "Focusing Your Thoughts" should help you identify the guiding principles of your proposal.

1. What values and interests should guide U.S. policy toward terrorism?

2. How should the United States interact with other nations as it addresses the problem of terrorism?

3. How does your option address concerns about national security?

4. What specific policies should the United States pursue in addressing terrorism? (Use the policy steps featured in the options as a guide.)

5. What are the two strongest arguments opposing your option?

   a.

   b.

6. What are the two strongest arguments supporting your option?

   a.

   b.

Coping with Crisis

Instructions: Terrorism is known for its unpredictability and violence. In this exercise, you are asked to decide how the United States should respond to three hypothetical crises. Consider how the United States should respond both domestically and internationally to the problem. You should use your answers to the "Your Option Five" worksheet as a guide in developing your recommendations.

Crisis #1 — U.S. Oil Ports and Saudi Arabia Hit

In an apparently coordinated attack, two explosions at ports on the east and west coasts of the United States have crippled significant portions of the nation's oil distribution system. The al Qaeda network has taken credit for the attack. A bomb in an oil tanker moored at the port of Long Beach, California, detonated, starting a fire that is still raging and has spread throughout the port. (Long Beach provides California with 25 percent of its oil.) A similar explosion has occurred at Port Everglades, Florida, where nearly 4 billion gallons of gasoline are stored in tanks above ground. There have been simultaneous attacks on oil production facilities in Saudi Arabia and Russia. The price of oil has doubled. The economic health of the U.S. and world is threatened. Anti-American demonstrations have started in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. World leaders fear increasing political and economic instability.

How should the United States respond?

Crisis #2 — Smallpox is Detected

An outbreak of smallpox has been detected in New York City. Medical doctors have been on heightened alert since the detection of anthrax in the postal system in fall 2001. They were able quickly to alert other hospitals and the Centers for Disease Control. While only six people have been diagnosed with the disease, experts are concerned that it will spread rapidly through the population. The six have been quarantined in the hospital, but doctors caution that further outbreaks are likely. Experts warn that a crash vaccination program using the 20 million available doses in the United States and limiting contact between people is the only way to contain this highly lethal and contagious disease. Several nations throughout the world have called for closing their borders to U.S. citizens. Other countries have warned their citizens not to travel to the United States. While the disease was eliminated decades ago, intelligence experts point out that a long list of countries possess biological weapons, including the United States, Russia, Israel, Iran, Iraq, China, North Korea, and Taiwan.

How should the United States respond?

Crisis #3 — U.S. Embassy Occupied—Nuclear Weapons Threat

The United States embassy in Paris has been taken over by a group of heavily armed men. They have shot and killed several French policeman and U.S. Marines. They are currently holding the ambassador and 30 staff members hostage. They are demanding that the United States withdraw its forces from Saudi Arabia. Most chillingly, they warn that they have stolen three nuclear devices and have hidden them in large cities in the United States, Europe, and Asia. Any police or military effort to free the hostages at the embassy will result in the detonation of these weapons.

How should the United States respond?

Key Terms

Introduction and Part I

weapons of mass destruction
state
means and ends
state-sponsored terrorism
diplomatic privileges

Part II

culture
use of force
economy
oil resources
coalition

democracy
human rights
foreign aid
trade relations
political reform

Part III

economic and political interests
bi-partisan
money laundering
sovereignty
foreign policy
intelligence information

NATO
civil defense
trade
infrastructure
checks and balances

Responding to Terrorism — Toolbox

Cold War: The Cold War dominated foreign policy for the United States and Russia between the late 1940s and the late 1980s. Following the defeat of Hitler in 1945, Soviet-U.S. relations began to deteriorate. The United States adopted a policy of containing the spread of Soviet communism around the world, which led, among other things, to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. During this period, both the Soviet Union and the United States devoted vast resources to their militaries but never engaged in direct military action against each other. Because both the Soviet Union and the United States had nuclear weapons and were in competition around the world, nearly every foreign policy decision was intricately examined for its potential impact on U.S.-Soviet relations. The end of the Cold War in the late 1980s forced policymakers to try to define a new guiding purpose for their foreign policy. The struggle against terrorism may provide that new focus.

Globalization: The term *globalization* is used to describe today's changing international economic environment. The end of the Cold War and the rapid growth of new technologies in computing, communication, and transportation have created the conditions for a highly dynamic and more open world economy. With these technological advances, the cost of doing business around the world has dropped significantly. At the same time, the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the formation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1993 encouraged increased trade between nations. These conditions combined to create not only economic opportunity but also economic, cultural, and social dislocation. While the WTO has set standards for international trade that create economic opportunities, activists have begun to demand that the WTO also deal with the issues of dislocation. Globalization has come to be seen as a positive force by some and a destructive force by others.

The United Nations: The creation of the United Nations began in the midst of a world war. The United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China agreed to create a new international organization in October 1943 — only a few months after the tide had turned in the war against Germany and Japan. The four Allies that met in 1943, along with France, were largely responsible for the development of the UN's structure. In June 1945, they were among the 55 nations that signed the UN Charter in San Francisco. The United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, and China became permanent members of the UN's Security Council, the new organization's executive body. The Security Council was given primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Each of the five permanent members of the Security Council held the right to veto UN decisions. The veto system was conceived as a safety valve that would allow the great powers to disagree without threatening the UN's existence. The framers of the UN hoped that the permanent members of the Security Council would share a common interest in maintaining global peace and spelled out procedures for resolving conflict in the UN Charter. Chapters VI and VII of the UN Charter spelled out procedures for resolving conflict. Chapter VI outlined the role of the UN in the peaceful settlement of disputes, while chapter VII described the means for enforcing UN efforts to stop conflict and aggression. Under chapter VII, the Security Council had the authority to call upon UN members to cut their economic, transportation, communication, and diplomatic ties with an aggressive government. More significantly, chapter VII empowered the Security Council to take military action "to maintain or restore international peace and security" and called for UN members to make forces available to carry out the Security Council's decisions.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Like the art of cooking, cooperative group learning is a skill that is rarely perfected on the first attempt, either by teachers or students. Yet with careful preparation, guidance, and practice, significant gains can be made quickly. No single recipe guarantees success with cooperative learning or the Choices approach in every classroom. That would be impossible, since each classroom differs in its organization and size and its unique collection of personalities and needs. However, this section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers a variety of ingredients for teachers to use as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. The suggested ingredients that follow have been drawn from educational research on student-centered instruction and, more important, from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms over the past six years. Educators who have questions about using Choices curricula in their classrooms are encouraged to contact the Choices Education Program in writing, or by calling (401)863-3155. The Choices staff includes experienced classroom teachers who will be pleased to speak with you.

Designing Cooperative Learning Groups

Group Size: The key to successful cooperative group work is having a group assignment that is complex enough to require the participation of all group members. Planning the size and composition of working groups in advance is crucial to the successful use of Choices curricula. Research indicates that the ideal size for a cooperative learning group is four or five students. This is certainly the ideal size for group assignments in Choices units. When using Choices units in larger classes, the size of option groups may be expanded to six or seven students. However, it is important to keep in mind that whenever the number of students in a group is increased, the number of roles and expected outcomes must also be expanded.

Group Composition: A strength of cooperative learning is that it creates opportunities for students to work together in new combinations on challenging tasks. Cooperative learning requires not only the academic skills of reading, writing, and critical thinking but also the interpersonal skills of communication, negotiation, and problem-solving. In most cases, this style of instruction and learning is most effective when students are assigned to groups by the teacher rather than being allowed to work with their friends. While random group selection can be effective, in most classes successful group composition requires that the teacher consider the personalities, strengths, and needs of the students.

Groups comprised of students with diverse strengths, talents, and needs are ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal students could be placed in groups with more outgoing students to help draw them into the lesson. Whenever possible, teachers should try to prevent one student from dominating a group. Explaining the instructions, roles, and ground rules for cooperative learning (see below) helps prevent this. Teachers may choose to group aggressive students with each other, leaving room in other groups for less assertive students to emerge as leaders. Finally, even though the negotiation of roles among the students in a group can be a valuable part of the cooperative learning experience, teachers might choose to assign certain roles, such as group spokesperson, in order to encourage leadership from more reticent students and to keep more aggressive students from dominating.

Students may initially complain about being assigned to groups that do not include their closest friends. We have found that, at the conclusion of the assignment, they will usually express satisfaction with their assigned partners, recognize that they got more accomplished, and sometimes even acknowledge the start of new friendships. The additional time involved in planning group size and composition will pay off when students are actively engaged, debating, and thinking critically.

Preparing Students for Cooperative Learning

Provide Clear Written Instructions: As with any assignment, students benefit from instructions and guidelines that clearly outline expectations and how they will be accomplished. These should be given to students in writing and reviewed with the class. Afterwards, as questions arise within groups, students should refer to the written instructions and attempt to answer each other's questions before asking for the teacher's assistance.

Establish Ground Rules: Especially when cooperative learning is a new experience, students benefit from the establishment of ground rules that are explained before groups are formed. Ground rules must be kept simple, and should be designed to keep students involved and on task. Posting these rules in a prominent place in the classroom can be very effective. An example of simple but effective ground rules for the cooperative group assignments could be:

Everybody has a role (or a job)
Everybody participates
Nobody dominates
Nobody interrupts

These rules can be enforced by appointing one student to serve as the group manager. The teacher can make it clear that one of the group manager's responsibilities is to enforce the ground rules as the group explores its assigned option and prepares its presentation. The group manager might also be required to make sure that members of the group stay on task and attempt to solve problems before asking for the teacher's assistance. Ground rules that are clear and used consistently can, over time, become an integral component of the classroom, facilitating learning and keeping students on task.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another alternative is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit. The "Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations" on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Name: ______________________________

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: ______________________________

Group members: ______________________________

____

Group Assessment	*Excellent*	*Good*	*Average*	*Needs Improvement*	*Unsatisfactory*
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: See Day Two of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read the Introduction and Part II of the background reading and completed "Study Guide — Part II" before beginning the unit.)
Homework: Students should read Part III of the background reading for homework.

Day 2: Assign each student one of the four options, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ in their assumptions about the U.S. role in the world? How would U.S. policy regarding terrorism change if their assigned options were adopted? Moving beyond the options, ask students to imagine they have been called on to advise the president on U.S. strategy regarding terrorism. What concerns would be at the top of their agenda? What values should guide the direction of U.S. policy?
Homework: Students should complete "Focusing Your Thoughts" and "Your Option Five."

Day 3: See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

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Thomas J. Biersteker
Director, Watson Institute for International Studies

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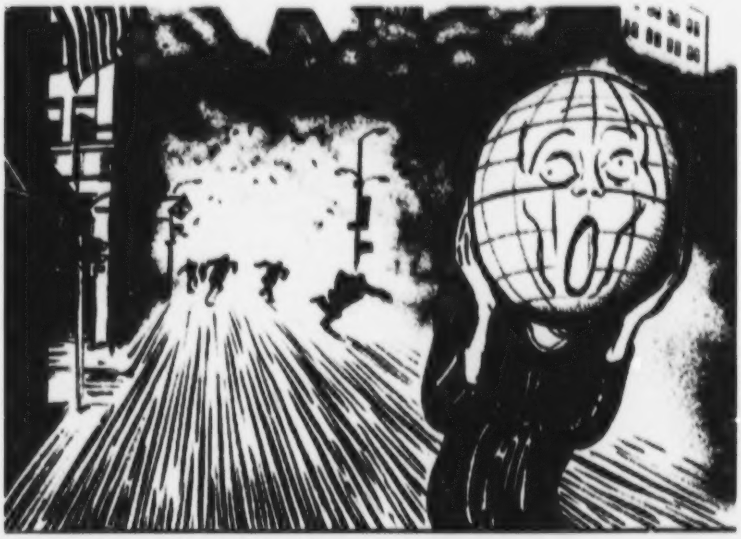
INTRODUCTION: SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

September 11, 2001. At 8:46 on a beautiful morning in New York City, American Airlines Flight 11 slammed into the north tower of the World Trade Center. The events that followed shook Americans to the core. As they began to gather around televisions, people stared in disbelief as seventeen minutes later another plane flew into the south tower.

Within minutes, another airliner filled with passengers crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, DC, and another into the ground in Pennsylvania. There could be little doubt that the United States was under attack. All planes in flight were diverted to the nearest airports. U.S. fighter jets were ordered into the air. The White House was evacuated. Horror-stricken, the world watched as the Trade Center Towers crumbled to the ground. Thousands died.

In the midst of fear and death, stories of heroism, courage, and kindness abounded. Stories emerged that the passengers on the flight that crashed in Pennsylvania had heard about the attacks over their cell phones and fought back against the hijackers. In New York and Washington, scores of firefighters and police officers lost their lives while trying to save those trapped in collapsing buildings. People at the scenes of the attacks cared for one another. Thousands lined up to give blood.

Americans across the country found solace in the caring and bravery of their fellow citizens. People around the world expressed their sympathy for the events taking place in New York and Washington. A day that showed humankind's capacity for evil was tempered by displays of its finest qualities.



Schrank in *The Independent* London, England. Reprinted with permission.

In the days that followed the attacks, many struggled to understand what had happened. Never before had so many American civilians been killed. Not since the war of 1812 had the mainland of the United States been attacked. And not since the Civil War had so many Americans been killed in a single day.

> *"Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes or in their offices—secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers. Moms and dads. Friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror."*
>
> *—President George W. Bush, September 11, 2001*

The terrorism did not end on September 11. In the weeks that followed, the U.S. Postal Service was used to deliver letters filled with anthrax spores to members of the media and government. The specter of the unknown and the invisible had crept into the lives of every American. The use of civilian airliners as flying bombs loaded with fuel was unprecedented. The use of biological weapons of mass destruction (WMD) made Americans wonder, What would be next? Who was responsible? What could we do to protect ourselves? Why was this happening to us?

Within hours of the attacks of September 11, news organizations reported that U.S. officials believed Saudi militant Osama bin Laden, suspected of masterminding the bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa in 1998, was behind the airplane hijackings.

Statements from Osama bin Laden gave reason for suspicion. Infuriated by the American presence in Saudi Arabia and U.S. support for Israel, bin Laden issued a statement in 1998 urging Muslims to fight and kill Americans and their allies throughout the world.

Although the U.S. government clearly suspected bin Laden, President Bush took pains to reject bin Laden's attempt to cast the attacks as a religious war between Islam and the United States.

The events of September 11 forced Americans to consider important questions in a context sharpened by the deaths of thousands of Americans: What are the motivations for terrorism? Why were we attacked? How should we respond?

In the following pages, you will have the opportunity to explore these questions and others as you consider the course the United States should take in response to terrorism. In Part I of the background reading, you will examine the historical origins and purposes of terrorism as well as its evolution over the years. Part II explores the content and context of bin Laden's call to violence against the United States, including the politics of the contemporary Middle East. In Part III, you will be confronted with the same questions facing U.S. policymakers: What are the potential threats against the United States? What is the best way to respond? What must be done overseas? What should be done here at home?

White House Photo

"...to kill and fight Americans and their allies, whether civilians or military, is an obligation for every Muslim who is able to do so in any country...."
—Osama bin Laden

"The face of terror is not the true faith of Islam. That's not what Islam is all about. Islam is peace. These terrorists don't represent peace, they represent evil and war. When we think of Islam, we think of a faith that brings comfort to a billion people around the world. Billions of people find comfort and solace and peace. And that's made brothers and sisters out of every race—out of every race."
—President George W. Bush

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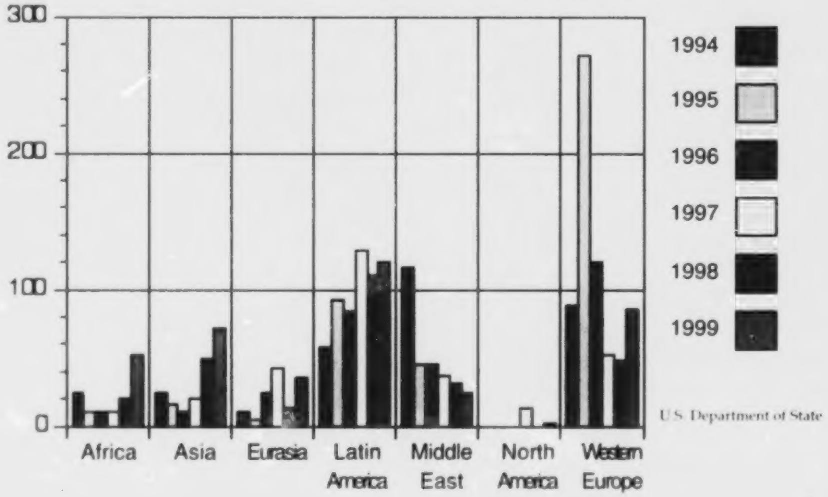
PART I: THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF TERRORISM

Today, the word *terrorism* inevitably conjures up images of the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and angry encounters in the Middle East fueled by Islamic extremism. But terrorism is neither new nor confined to the Middle East or Islamic extremism.

Throughout history, terrorists have come from many places with many motivations. States, groups seeking self-determination or the end of colonial rule, left and right wing ideologues—all have used terror to advance their goals. In almost all of these cases, groups have acted out of political motivations, not merely out of a desire for senseless acts of violence. While terror has often been a weapon of the less powerful against the state, states have also used it as a weapon to intimidate populations and to weaken and destroy political opponents.

Whether wielded by states or by individuals, terror has been a means to a political end. Examining the evolving means and methods of terror and terrorists reveals a shifting political landscape that may help Americans understand the motivations behind these acts as well as develop strategies to counter terrorism.

International Terrorist Attacks: 1994-1999



U.S. Department of State

HISTORICAL EXAMPLES OF TERRORISM

The Reign of Terror: During the French Revolution, the revolutionary government under Robespierre harnessed its power to eradicate its enemies. From 1793 to 1794, thousands of people were arrested or executed, and Robespierre's rule became known as the Reign of Terror.

Assassination of the Tsar: In Russia, a group of revolutionaries known as Narodnaya Volya assassinated Tsar Alexander II in 1881. They felt that the tyranny of the tsars had to end and that violence was their only recourse. Narodnaya Volya was careful to attack those in power and to avoid killing innocents.

Anarchist International: A worldwide movement of groups operating in secret cells, Anarchists murdered the president of Italy in 1894, the King of Italy in 1900, the prime ministers of Spain in 1897 and 1912, and the empress of Austria in 1898. Anarchists were also responsible for the 1886 bombing of Haymarket Square in Chicago. In 1901, Leon Czolgocz assassinated U.S. President William McKinley. Czolgocz, a Hungarian refugee, was influenced by the ideas of the Anarchists.

State-Sponsored Terror: On June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip assassinated the Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo, an event that led to the First World War. Princip was trained by the Black Hand, an organization supported by the military and government of Serbia.

Terror of the State: During the reign of Josef Stalin, the Soviet Union harnessed the apparatus of the state to strike terror into the hearts of its citizens. Dissent was repressed, millions were executed, and tens of millions were arrested and imprisoned. Some 20 million Soviets died.

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MODERN TERROR

After World War II, terrorism spread as a political instrument of revolutionaries, those seeking independence from colonial powers, and in struggles of self-determination. The states of Israel, Kenya, and Algeria owe their independence in part to the nationalist political groups that used terrorism against colonial powers. For most people today, the current conception of terrorism and terrorists was shaped by the hostage crisis at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

How did events at the Munich Olympics in 1972 bring terrorism to the forefront of the world's consciousness?

During the Olympic Games in Munich, Germany, in 1972, a Palestinian group known as Black September seized Israeli athletes inside the Olympic Village. The Palestinian group demanded the release of Palestinian prisoners held in Israel in return for the hostages they held in Munich. The Israeli government refused the terrorists' demands. German police talked the terrorists out of the Olympic Village, but 11 Israelis, one German policeman and five of eight terrorists were killed in a failed German-led rescue attempt at a small airport.

Advances in satellite technology meant that much of the world was able to watch on television as the drama unfolded. Germany's hopes for an uplifting Olympic competition devoid of politics were dashed. The public was shocked by images of the crisis and by the idea that the Israeli athletes, who were obviously not directly responsible for their government's policies, would be held accountable for those policies. The athletes were targeted simply because they were symbolic representatives of Israel—and, by extension, of Israel's policies.

The enduring image of the 1972 Olympic Games remains a terrorist in a ski mask, instead of an exhilarating athletic performance. Terrorists around the world absorbed the lessons of the power of that image as well. Terrorists had begun to understand that they could capture the world's attention if the right targets were chosen—the wider the audience, the greater the impact of the terror. Terrorists also saw the power of striking at important symbols. In this case, an event meant to symbolize the unity of humankind and the ability of sport to transcend politics was shown to be vulnerable or even illusory.

The events of Munich had a lasting impact. Terrorism became more prominent in the world's consciousness, in no small part because terrorists continued to choose targets for their symbolic value and for maximum media coverage. Throughout the 1970s, terrorism experts concluded that when terrorists acted, they did not want a lot of people dead—but they did want a lot of people watching.

TERRORISM BECOMES MORE DEADLY

Following the events in Munich, the international community debated the best response to terrorism and produced several agreements directed at specific types of terrorist activity, including aircraft

Examples of State-Sponsored Terrorism

Date	Event	Deaths	Terrorist Organization	State Sponsor
April 1983	Suicide car bomb outside the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon	69	Islamic Jihad	Iran
July 1987	Simultaneous car-bombing in Karachi, Pakistan	72 deaths More than 250 wounded		Afghani intelligence agents
November 1987	Bombing of Korean Airlines Flight from Baghdad, Iraq to Seoul, South Korea	115		North Korean intelligence services
December 1988	Bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland	259 passengers, 11 on ground		Libya
August 1989	Bombing of French passenger jet over Chad	171	Islamic Jihad	Iran

sabotage and hijacking, attacks on diplomats, and hostage taking. Despite these efforts, state-sponsored terrorism, in which states provided anonymous assistance to terrorists, grew during the 1980s.

Why did some state-sponsored terrorism increase during the 1980s?

In November 1979, a militant group of Iranian students seized 52 Americans as hostages at the United States embassy in Tehran. The students, claiming to be acting without their government's support, kept the world's attention focused on Tehran throughout the crisis. After more than a year in captivity, the U.S. government negotiated the release of the hostages.

The lessons of this event were not lost on the Iranian government, which had expressed an interest in eliminating the powerful influence of the United States in the Middle East. Other governments around the world also took note. These states realized that supporting terrorist groups provided an effective way for weaker states to strike at more powerful states. Terrorists also benefited from having states sponsor their activities. Terrorists could have access to false identification in the form of genuine passports. They could use diplomatic privileges to provide immunity and transport weapons and explosives. States could also provide advanced military training and pay terrorists well for their activities. More funding allowed terrorist organizations to recruit people who might not otherwise have been ideologically committed to the state. And the availibility of the state's more sophisticated weaponry meant that the lethality of terrorism increased sharply.

What are some of the ways the United States responded to state-sponsored terrorism?

State-sponsorship of terrorism can include a range of activities including helping plan and carry out attacks, supplying weapons and training, and providing safe havens out of view of the international community. The U.S. Department of State keeps a list of states that sponsor terrorism. Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria make up the current list. The list has not changed since 1983, when Sudan was added. No state added to the list has ever been removed, even though the United States has applied both economic embargoes and sanctions against these states.

The United States has also used military retaliation against these states as a method of deterring terrorist action. The effectiveness of retaliation has not been high. For example, in 1986, the United States bombed Libya in retaliation for the bombing of a disco in Berlin, Germany, that was frequently visited by U.S. soldiers. The attack killed two and wounded 200. Instead of deterring further Libyan terrorist acts against the United States, the U.S. air strike was followed by an increased number of Libyan-sponsored attacks against U.S. citizens. In addition, the number of all terrorist attacks against the United States actually increased following the bombing in Libya. Two years after the air strikes, Libyan-backed terrorists bombed Pan Am flight 103, killing 259 passengers and 11 people on the ground.

Furthermore, despite careful planning, the U.S. air strikes against Libya also killed 36 civilians and wounded 93. Critics of the action noted that the United States had deprived itself of the moral high ground it claimed to hold above terrorists, subjecting itself to domestic and international criticism.

THE RISE OF RELIGIOUSLY MOTIVATED TERRORISM

While state-sponsorship of terrorism made it increasingly deadly, another worrying trend in terrorism has emerged in the last decade. In 1980, the U.S. State Department's list of international terrorist groups included only one group with religious affiliation. In 1999, more than half of the international terrorists groups identified by the State Department had some religious affiliation or ideology.

Why is there concern about a rise of religiously motivated terrorism?

Even prior to the attacks of September 11, 2001, some terrorism experts attributed the increasing lethality of terrorism to attacks perpetrated by groups motivated by religious extremism. They also pointed with concern to efforts by these groups to acquire and use materials that could be made into nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons.

What common factors help explain the motivations and methods of religious terrorists?

The world gone wrong: Most of the religious terrorist groups active in the last decade were motivated by the belief that something has gone terribly wrong with the world. These beliefs stem from social, political, cultural, and spiritual issues. For example, foreign military occupation of territory, corrupt secular governments, or the decline of traditional values within a society can all contribute to a sense of crisis. Furthermore, the process of globalization can magnify this sense of "a world gone wrong," as people fear losing their identity to intruding foreign value systems.

Throughout history, cultures have been forced to confront the possibility of change. In many cases, religion has offered the means to cope with these circumstances, helping a changing society to determine goals for the future. Religion can offer physical or spiritual sanctuary against political repression. It has

FOUR CASES OF RELIGIOUSLY INSPIRED TERROR

The First World Trade Center Bombing: On February 26, 1993, a van loaded with explosives and cyanide parked in the garage of the World Trade Center in New York City. It exploded, collapsing several floors of the parking garage and killing six people and injuring thousands. The terrorists had planned for the explosion to collapse one tower, forcing it to fall sideways onto the other tower. The plan, designed to kill thousands, failed because the force of the explosion was not great enough.

An Islamist terrorist group based in the United States carried out the attack. The group, followers of the Egyptian Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, was angered by U.S. support for Israel and for those it considered enemies of Islam, including Egypt's President Mubarak. The group's supporters were also angered by America's secular culture, which they regarded as hostile to religion in general and particularly threatening to Islam. In 1996, Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman and eight others were convicted of planning the World Trade Center bombing and of plotting to blow up the United Nations, two tunnels under the Hudson River, and the FBI building in Manhattan.

The Trade Center was attacked because of its symbolic significance. In the eyes of the world, it represented American power, technology, and that quintessential American city, New York. Eight and a half years later, this symbolism would make the towers targets again.

Baruch Goldstein: On February 25, 1994, during Islam's holy month of Ramadan, Dr. Baruch Goldstein entered the Ibrahim Mosque, located in the Israeli town of Hebron on the West Bank. He fired 111 shots with his automatic assault-rifle into the congregation of 800 Palestinian Muslim worshippers. He killed 29 people and wounded 150 before being beaten to death.

A follower of the Jewish terrorist group Kach, Baruch Goldstein felt betrayed by his government's actions in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. He believed that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was giving away what God had given Israel and that Israel was in grave danger from Palestinian Arabs.

The Hebron massacre had important religious symbolism. Goldstein acted during the Jewish festival of Purim, which celebrates the biblical story of Mordechai destroying the enemies of the Jews.

Goldstein's action repulsed most Israelis. However, a large segment of militant and orthodox Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza settlements saw Goldstein as a righteous man and a martyr. They made his gravesite a shrine and voiced uncompromising religious fervor not only against Palestinian Arabs but also against the Israeli government. A few months later, a young orthodox Jewish student named Yigal Amir assassinated Prime Minister Rabin. He claimed he acted on God's orders.

Aum Shinrikyo: Tokyo, Japan, March 20, 1995. Five members of Aum Shinrikyo, a group with roots in Japanese Buddhism, boarded trains at different ends of Tokyo's subway system. As they approached the city center, also functioned as a major instrument for social activism and political action. Religious terrorists also turn to religion to find motivation and justification for their own purposes. They perceive their actions as a defensive reaction to the moral and spiritual corruption of the world.

No Other Options: Most people, when confronted by the kinds of cultural or political crises mentioned above, turn to political campaigns or social movements to address their concerns or to right what they perceive as wrong. These efforts might succeed or fail. Nonetheless, they are undertaken with the understanding that things could change—public support could be gathered, new leaders elected, and policies changed. However, others feel no hope that these traditional political methods will help them achieve their objectives. They feel powerless and humiliated about their inability to do anything about their frustration with the world. Such people have sometimes turned to terrorism and violence, believing that to be the only way change will occur.

each of the men punctured a bag containing Sarin nerve gas and quickly left the train. In the next few minutes, people on the trains began choking and vomiting. Passengers stumbled out of the trains and collapsed on the platforms in convulsions. Eventually 12 people died and over 5,500 were injured, many with permanent injuries. This was the first example of the use of weapons of mass destruction by a terrorist group.

Members of Aum Shinrikyo believed that they were in dehumanized society threatened by an Armageddon of nuclear weapons and nerve gas. They believed that only members of their organization, those with proper spiritual training, would survive. Some argue they conducted the nerve gas attack on the subway system to fulfill their own prophesy of Armageddon or to symbolize its results.

Christian Identity: On June 15, 1985, Richard Wayne Snell was sentenced to death for the separate murders of a pawn shop owner and a police officer in Arkansas in 1983 and 1984. He also bombed a natural gas pipeline, robbed a pawn shop, and had made plans to bomb the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Snell, who was executed by lethal injection on April 19, 1995, apologized for none of his crimes. According to him, they were part of a just revolution against the U.S. federal government.

Snell was a member of the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), a militant right-wing group that seeks to overthrow the federal government and create a new state governed by Christian religious law. The CSA's beliefs are based on the Christian Identity movement, a system of religious beliefs that blends white supremacy with extreme political and religious conservatism. Its followers believe that the government is run by a Jewish-liberal conspiracy that is determined to deprive citizens of their freedoms and to institute a secular world government. They are often fierce defendants of citizens' right to own firearms, believing that gun control legislation is one of the government's most offensive means of depriving citizens of their freedom.

Christian Identity beliefs and others similar to them have influenced many extreme right-wing groups and individuals. While some are not violent, many regard the use of violence as acceptable and even righteous if it is used to defend Christian values or to overthrow the current system and bring about Christian rule.

Christian Identity's anti-government militancy has also appealed to and inspired many people who do not necessarily share the movement's religious beliefs. Timothy McVeigh, who bombed the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, had ties to Christian Identity followers both in Michigan and in Oklahoma. McVeigh did not express religious motivations for bombing the Murrah building. However, he shared many of Christian Identity's pro-gun and anti-government convictions. He was heavily influenced by *The Turner Diaries*, a novel popular among Christian Identity followers which describes in detail blowing up a federal building with a fertilizer-gasoline bomb similar to the one McVeigh used. (In fact, McVeigh had a passage from the book with him when he was arrested.)

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Cosmic War Against the Enemy: When that sense of powerlessness is combined with some religious interpretations, the struggle takes on cosmic terms—a struggle between good and evil, or between God and the devil.

> *"America is struck by God Almighty in one of its vital organs. So that its greatest buildings are destroyed. Grace and gratitude to God. America has been filled with horror from north to south and from south to east."*
>
> *—Osama bin Laden, October 2001*

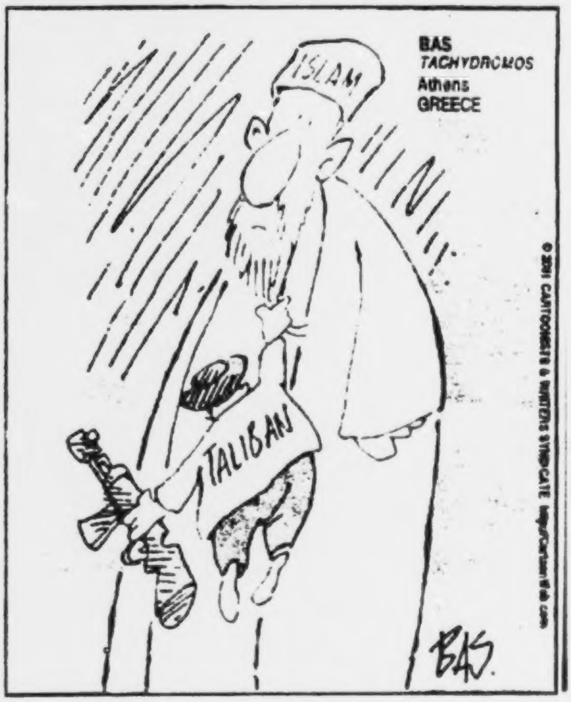
Perceiving social or political struggles in this way can lead some people to religiously-motivated terrorism. In these cases, the struggle is thought to be a defense of culture and identity in which the enemy appears to have the power to destroy the culture and community. The enemy's victory would be absolutely intolerable, yet there seems to be no way to defeat the enemy with traditional means, such as conventional military campaigns or diplomacy. To the terrorist's mind, the stakes are so high and the cause so virtuous that any means may be justified to achieve the ends.

Symbolism and Violence: Religious terrorists often choose their targets and the timing of their attacks for their symbolic value. That is, terrorists will choose to strike targets that they feel represent the things or ideas they are fighting against and convey a sense of the terrorists' power.

Why did U.S. government officials grow increasingly concerned about terrorism?

As the violence caused by terrorism grew, U.S. government officials became increasingly alarmed. It seemed that terrorists did not only want a lot of people watching their acts of terrorism—they wanted a lot of people dead as well. Law enforcement officials in the United States and around the world noted with alarm cases of groups and individuals who had attempted to acquire the ingredients to make nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons.

> *"The acquisition, proliferation, threatened or actual use of weapons of mass destruction constitutes one of the gravest threats to the United States."*
>
> *—Louis Freeh, May 1997,*
> *Former Director of the FBI*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Bas in *Tachydromos*, Athen, Greece. Reprinted with permission.

Ottoman Empire. Islam permits the use of force in self-defense, but not the killing of innocents or civilians.

The term *jihad*, often associated with Islam and violence, is also open to interpretation. Scholars point out that the term, which literally means struggle or effort, has two meanings. For the founder of Islam, the Prophet Muhammad, the "great *jihad*" was the struggle against one's own moral shortcomings. The "little *jihad*" was the struggle against the enemies of Islam.

Different interpretations of Islam have led Muslims to different conclusions about the role of violence in their religion. For example, there are different interpretations of the Prophet Muhammad's words, "Let there be no two religions in Arabia." Many Muslims interpret this to mean that non-Muslims should not be allowed to remain in the holy lands of Arabia. Indeed, this non-Islamic presence in the form of American troops is what bin Laden condemns. Most Muslims, however, do not support violence against American citizens, even though they might be unhappy with U.S. policies in the Middle East or the presence of American troops in the holy lands of Islam.

Bin Laden's statement that the United States had declared war on Islam strikes most Americans as absurd. Within their own lives most Americans separate the political and religious spheres. The founding fathers believed that there should be no state-sponsored religion, and they enshrined this concept in the Constitution. But for bin Laden, the religious and the political are one and the same. By definition, political conflicts are religious and religious conflicts are political.

Why is the United States concerned about political Islam?

The blending of the political and religious spheres is not unique to Osama bin Laden. His violent radical extremism is a part of the rise of political Islam in the Islamic world.

Political Islamist movements have concerned Washington since the Iranian Revolution of 1979. In almost all Middle Eastern countries, Islam is officially recognized as the binding force of society. State-run television and radio stations broadcast thousands of hours of religious programming, and Islamic clergymen receive government salaries. The Islamist regimes of Iran and Sudan take a different approach. There, the Islamic clergy actually control the government.

What is political Islam?

Political Islam—or Islamic fundamentalism, as it is often called—strives to establish as law one interpretation of the Islamic legal tradition, or *Shari'a*, as the foundation of government and attempts to rid society of non-Islamic influences. (The *Shari'a* is a wide body of literature that lays out legal principles and norms but is not a legal code or single document.) Political Islam has fed off the frustration of Middle Eastern politics in the 20th century. Earlier political movements, such as pan-Arab nationalism, have failed. Corruption, mismanagement, and reliance on foreign support have undermined popular faith in Arab governments. In the midst of these failures, political Islam has gained increasing support.

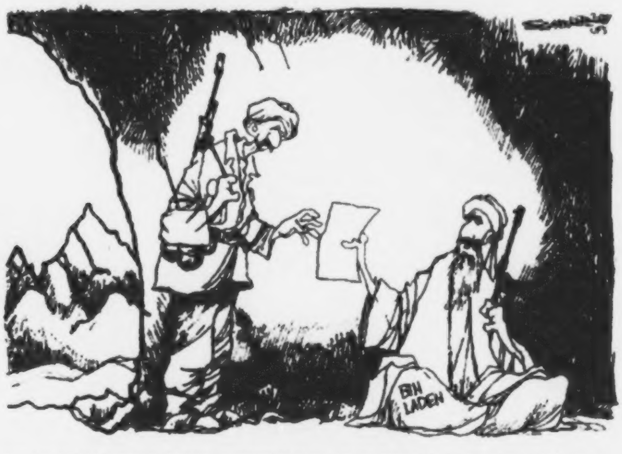
Islamist movements (that is, movements of political Islam) have benefited from larger economic and social forces as well. In the 1990s, many Middle Eastern countries adopted free-market economic principles advocated by the United States. The reforms called for breaking down trade barriers that have protected local industries, cutting government spending, and selling off state-run companies to pri-

PART II: AL QAEDA AND SEPTEMBER 11

As Americans struggled to make sense of the events of September 11, a leading suspect quickly emerged—Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden, a Saudi born multi-millionaire, had been implicated in attacks on the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998. Other reports linked him and his organization, al Qaeda (loosely translated as "the base"), to the killing of U.S. troops in a street battle in Somalia in 1993, the bombing and deaths of U.S. military personnel in Saudi Arabia in 1996, and the attack on the U.S.S. *Cole* by suicide bombers in 2000 that killed 19 U.S. sailors.

Why has Osama bin Laden waged an ongoing terror campaign against the United States?

Over the last several years, Osama bin Laden has made a number of public statements giving his justifications for his attacks against Americans. He is angry about the presence of American troops in Arabia, the sacred lands of Islam. He views their presence as a way for the United States to fight against and humiliate the peoples of Islam in the region. He objects to U.S. support of Israel and Israel's presence in the holy lands, as well as to the deaths of Muslims at the hands of Israel. He also objects to U.S. policy in Iraq. Bin Laden believes that all of these actions by the United States literally amount to a declaration of war by the United States on Allah (the Islamic name for God) and Muslims. Bin Laden presents his call to arms as a defense of Islam, a cosmic struggle against an enemy whom he believes hopes to destroy his culture and religion.



"THIS IS MY LATEST EDICT CONDEMNING GODLESS WESTERN TECHNOLOGY... FAX IT TO THE NETWORKS AND POST IT ON THE INTERNET..."

Bill Schorr United Media Services. Reprinted with permission

> *"We call upon Muslim scholars, their faithful leaders, young believers, and soldiers to launch a raid on the American soldiers of Satan and their allies of the Devil."*
>
> *—Osama bin Laden*

In February 1998, bin Laden announced the founding of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders. (The "Crusaders" is a reference to the Christian invasions of the holy lands in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries which bin Laden equates with U.S. policy). At the time, several other militant organizations from Egypt, Pakistan, and Bangladesh became part of al Qaeda. Experts warned that al Qaeda was a large collection of loosely connected secret cells or groups that were dispersed around the world. They noted that thousands had come to al Qaeda's camps in Afghanistan to learn the skills they would need to become terrorists.

ISLAM, POLITICAL ISLAM, AND THE POLITICS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

Bin Laden's declaration and the attacks of September 11 have raised many questions for Americans. Some wondered whether there were justifications for terrorism within Islam. For others, the events seemed to confirm a perception of Islam as a violent and fanatical belief.

What role does Islam play?

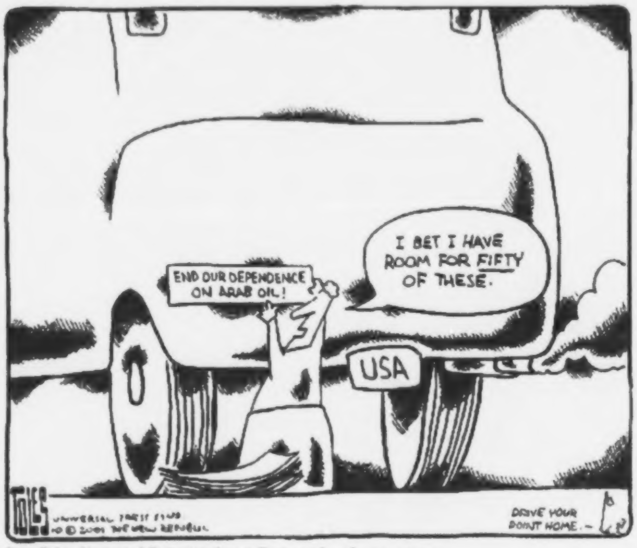
Like all religions, Islam is subject to interpretation. Most interpretations of Islam have given rise to a history of tolerance and peace. (The word *Islam* is related to the word *salaam*, which means peace.) Islam is a religion that values family and tolerance. Throughout much of history, Muslims have lived peacefully with followers of other religions. For example, many Jews fled the persecutions found in Christian Europe for the relative freedom of the vate owners. While free-market policies have attracted increased foreign investment to the Middle East, they have also raised unemployment and reduced government assistance to the poor.

Islamist movements have proven especially strong in the poor neighborhoods of large cities. Many of their supporters are recent migrants from the countryside or the victims of economic reform. For them, Islamist movements are an answer to what they see as reckless change and economic inequity.

How do U.S. officials regard political Islam?

While political Islam comes in many forms that do not necessarily espouse terrorism, U.S. officials and many Middle Eastern leaders view political Islam's more radical forms as a threat to stability. In Egypt, for example, Washington has stood behind Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's crackdown on Islamist movements. One of the intellectual founders of modern Islamist radicalism, the Egyptian dissident, Sayyid Qutb, argued that existing Arab regimes should all be overthrown as the first step in a *jihad* against the enemies of Islam. Some experts believe this is one of Osama bin Laden's unstated goals.

On the other hand, the United States supports the Islamist government in Saudi Arabia because it serves U.S. interests. Critics note that Saudi Arabia supports Islamist activities in many countries around the world and provides funding for mosques and cultural centers abroad. These centers, they say, may serve as recruiting grounds for terrorists. At the same time, Saudi Arabia does not allow these activities to take place in its own country.


END OUR DEPENDENCE ON ARAB OIL!
I BET I HAVE ROOM FOR FIFTY OF THESE.
USA
TOLES
DRIVE YOUR POINT HOME. –

Tom Toles. Universal Press Syndicate. Reprinted with permission.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union competed for influence in the economically and strategically important Middle East. Today, the United States maintains an active role in the Middle East for two reasons. First, American presidents since Jimmy Carter have expressed their determination to go to war to prevent hostile forces from gaining control of the Middle East's oil resources. Second, our country has become deeply enmeshed in efforts to settle the long conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Since 1991, the United States has sponsored a series of peace talks. Although breakthrough agreements have been signed between Israel and the Palestinians, as well as between Israel and Jordan, since the fall of 2000, the prospects for peace have grown dimmer in the midst of ongoing violence. Nonetheless, all sides continue to look to the United States for leadership.

What is the U.S. perspective on relations with Israel?

The Arab-Israeli peace process has commanded a greater share of America's diplomatic energy than any other issue in recent years. At the same time, it has raised new questions about U.S.-Israeli relations.

Since its creation, Israel has occupied a special position in U.S. foreign policy. Israeli interests have been effectively promoted in the United States by the lobbying efforts of America's influential Jewish community. U.S. leaders have stood by Israel for other reasons as well. First, Israel has won admiration in the United States as a model of democracy and Western values in the Middle East.

Others view Israel as a valuable strategic ally in the region. For example, Presidents Richard Nixon and George H. W. Bush valued Israel for countering U.S. enemies in the Middle East, battle testing U.S. weapons, and sharing intelligence information.

With the end of the Cold War and the evolution of Israel's position in the Middle East, America's attachment to Israel has attracted fresh attention. Israel's treatment of the Palestinians under its jurisdiction and repeated incursions into southern Lebanon have drawn more intense criticism. Nonetheless, U.S. support for Israel has not wavered.

Why is there a U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf region?

In August 1990, the Iraqi military invaded Kuwait. In the days immediately following, President George H. W. Bush's top priority was to prevent Saddam Hussein's military from seizing the oil fields of northeastern Saudi Arabia. Iraq's occupation of Kuwait had given Saddam Hussein control of one-quarter of global oil reserves. Extending his reach 200 miles further into Saudi Arabia would have put nearly half of the world's oil in his grasp. In leading a coalition of 28 nations, the United States smashed Iraq's bid to seize Kuwait. Nonetheless, Iraq's Saddam Hussein held on to power and has continued to defy the international community

American defense strategists see the Persian Gulf as the most probable arena for future U.S. military action in the Middle East. The war against Iraq elevated the region's importance from the American perspective. It also convinced Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the smaller states of the Persian Gulf that an American military presence is needed in the region to safeguard their own security. The presence of more than 15,000 American troops in the Persian Gulf, however, has created tensions of its own.

For many Arabs, the U.S. military presence is a painful reminder of the Arab world's weaknesses and divisions. The different culture and values of American troops are a source of tension. In addition, the sudden wealth that oil has brought to some kingdoms of the Persian Gulf has created resentment from Arab neighbors. Kuwaitis, for example, received scant sympathy from most of the Arab world after their country was overrun by Iraq.

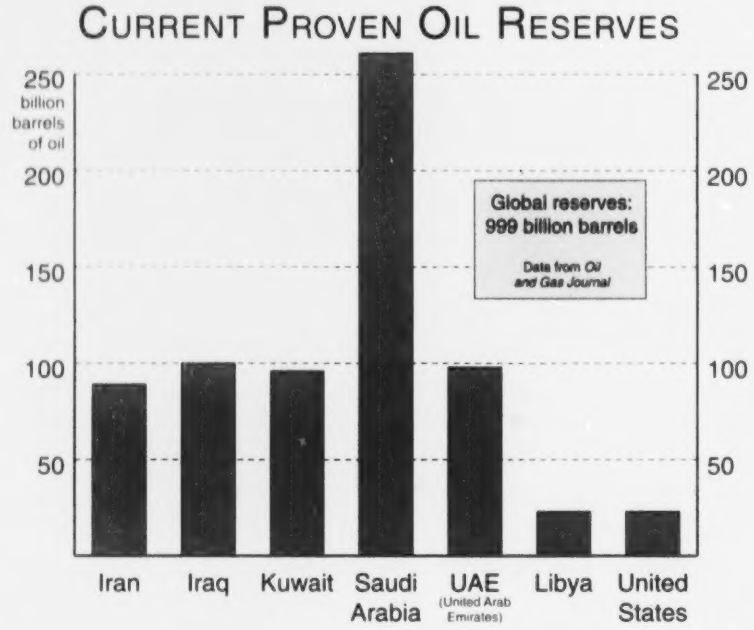
In addition to the physical presence of U.S. soldiers, the Middle East is also bristling with American weapons. The region is the world's largest market for arms exports, accounting for over half of the overseas sales of American weapons manufacturers.

What principles govern U.S. policy in the Middle East?

While concentrating on security issues, U.S. policymakers have paid much less attention to promoting democracy and human rights in the Middle East. In Latin America, the former Soviet Union, and other parts of the world, the United States often determines foreign aid, trade relations, and other aspects of foreign policy on the basis of political reform. In contrast, U.S. leaders have largely ignored how America's friends in the Middle East govern within their borders.

The Arab kingdoms of the Persian Gulf present the most striking contradiction for U.S. policy. In Saudi Arabia, for example, women are not permitted to vote or even drive. Government and industry are dominated by the Saudi royal clan, which numbers in the tens of thousands.

Other U.S. allies in the Middle East also remain tightly controlled from the top. Egypt's leadership, for example, deals harshly with local critics. Human rights groups complain that torture and imprisonment without trial are widespread. In Jordan, the late


CURRENT PROVEN OIL RESERVES

King Hussein began to open up the political process in the mid-1990s. Whether the momentum to full-fledged democracy can be sustained during the reign of his son remains to be seen.

Which states concern the United States most in the Middle East?

In U.S. eyes, Iran and Iraq (along with Libya) represent major problems in the region. The charges against them are extensive. Iraq, and possibly Iran, have sought to develop nuclear weapons. Their stockpiles of chemical weapons are believed to be substantial. Both countries have also tried to dominate the Persian Gulf through military force or political meddling. American officials contend that Iran and Iraq are key sponsors of international terrorism. Iran's test in 1998 of a new missile with a range of 800 miles brought more worries to Washington.

The U.S. policy in the Middle East of limiting the influence of Iran and Iraq has been referred to as the policy of "dual containment." Maintaining American constraints on both of these countries has demanded extensive use of U.S. military assets and has opened the floodgates of criticism from three of the five permanent UN Security Council members—China, France, and Russia. The United States itself has also explored improving relations with Iran through diplomatic channels.

What are the origins of U.S. policy toward Iraq?

America's policy toward Iraq has been headline news in recent years and is a factor in bin Laden's call to arms against Americans. U.S. efforts to handcuff Saddam Hussein's regime grew out of the last days of the Persian Gulf War. In the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, the United States backed away from pursuing the overthrow of Hussein's regime after Saudi Arabia and Turkey voiced concern that Iraq's disintegration would destabilize the region. Instead, the United States blocked Hussein from rebuilding his country's power and hoped that disgruntled military officers would eventually bring about a change in government. U.S. efforts in recent years to find and fund viable opposition groups in Iraq have been unsuccessful.

At American urging, the UN Security Council has strictly limited Saddam Hussein's freedom to maneuver. Many of the economic sanctions that were imposed on Iraq in 1990 have been maintained. Iraq still cannot sell its oil freely on the international market. The UN prohibited the Iraqi air force from flying over northern and southern portions of Iraq. U.S. and British pilots enforce the no-fly zones to this day.

As part of the cease-fire agreement, UN monitors conducted regular inspections of Iraq to prevent the production of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. UN weapons inspectors also destroyed vast stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons and their components. Iraq's refusal to allow UN inspectors a free hand in continuing their search for these weapons of mass destruction led to a series of air strikes by U.S and British forces in late 1998 and the refusal of Iraq to allow UN inspectors to operate in Iraq at all. Many experts believe that Iraq is working hard to produce weapons of mass destruction.

Keeping the squeeze on Iraq has placed strains on U.S. foreign policy. Repeatedly, the United States and Britain have responded to Iraqi violations of UN agreements by launching air strikes or rushing additional troops to the region.

What have been the results of economic sanctions against Iraq?

Economic sanctions have not brought about Saddam Hussein's downfall. Rather, they have prompted accusations that the United States aggravates the suffering of the Iraqi people. Despite the UN's humanitarian oil-for-food program, the UN estimates that 4,500 Iraqi children die each month because of malnutrition and disease attributable to the sanctions. Observers debate whether the United States or Saddam Hussein bears responsibility for this tragic situation. Some experts estimate that Hussein has the wealth to feed his people but chooses to spend it instead on the military and marble palaces. The UN reports, as well as economic and political interests, have led France, Russia, and China, as well as Arab nations, to oppose U.S. actions and to argue for a re-evaluation of policy toward Iraq. The Bush administration has explored alternatives, but remains firmly convinced that Iraq poses a danger to U.S. interests and that measures must continue to be taken to prevent potential Iraqi aggression.

PART III: RESPONDING TO TERRORISM

In the weeks following the September attacks, the United States identified Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda network as responsible for the violence. Al Qaeda was based in the country of Afghanistan with the support and approval of the extreme Islamist regime known as the Taliban. President Bush demanded that the Taliban hand over bin Laden and dismantle al Qaeda.

> *"Deliver to U.S. authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda that hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals including American citizens you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect all journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close, immediately and permanently, every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan and hand over every terrorist and every person in their support structure to appropriate authorities. Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps so we make sure they are no longer operating."*
>
> *—President George W. Bush,*
> *September 20, 2001*

The Taliban government of Afghanistan refused to meet the conditions of the United States, although they claimed they would try bin Laden themselves if offered conclusive evidence of his guilt. On October 7, 2001, the United States initiated a military campaign against al Qaeda and the Taliban government of Afghanistan.

For many Americans, the deaths of so many on September 11 raised the question, "Why us?" No explanation will ever justify the murder of thousands in the terrorist attacks of September 11. However, it is important to try to understand some of the reasons that terrorists, including Osama bin Laden and his organization, choose to target the United States.

Why are we targets?

As the most powerful nation in the world, the United States is also the most visible nation in the world. But American power is much more than just military might. The ability of American firms and to expand throughout the world has helped kindle resentment against the "Americanization" of cultures of different nations. Some fear that the cultures and traditions of their countries will be overwhelmed by the values, popular culture, technologies, and life-styles of the United States. The values conveyed by MTV or Hollywood are often regarded as harmful—an assault by an immoral secular American society on traditional values. For many overseas, the rapidly changing global and political environment has led to shifting and uncertain cultural and economic landscapes.

In addition, the United States has an economic and political interest in ensuring the stability of governments around the world. This can put the United States in the highly visible position of supporting governments that radical movements see as their foes. In some cases, U.S. concerns about extremist religious movements lead the United States to shore up more secular regimes, even if they do not respect certain democratic principles. For example, Egypt is the second largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid, even though the country suffers from government corruption, a weak economy, poor living conditions for many of its citizens, and a poor record on human rights. While the Egyptian government does not tolerate much criticism of its own leaders and activities in its media, frustration and anger find an outlet in criticism of and anger toward the United States.

THE THREATS WE FACE

The increasing violence of terrorism and the attacks of September 11 forced the United States to consider the range of potential threats it faced. The appearance of anthrax spores in letters sent to public figures raised concerns about the possibility of an even more deadly attack against the United States, possibly with weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Although a terrorist attack with WMD may not be the most likely terrorist threat, a 1999 government commission led by former Senators Gary Hart and Warren Rudman had warned about the possibility.

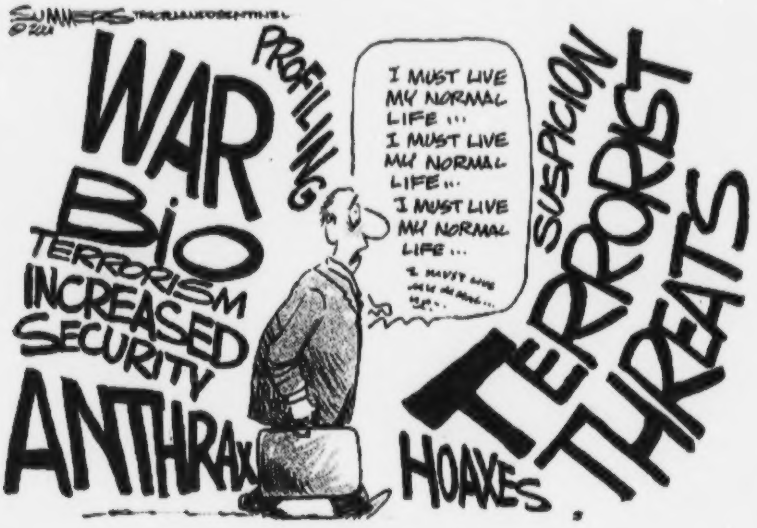
Another bi-partisan commission, led by Senator Howard Baker and former counsel to the president

Lloyd Cutler, reported to President George W. Bush in January 2001 that the United States faced a serious threat from the theft or illegal sale of weapons of mass destruction from the former Soviet Union.

> *"Americans will likely die on American soil, possibly in large numbers."*
>
> *—Hart-Rudman Commission on American Security in the 21st Century, 1999*
>
> *"The most urgent unmet national security threat to the United States today is the danger that weapons of mass destruction or weapons-useable materials in Russia could be stolen, sold to terrorists or hostile nation states, and used against American troops abroad or citizens at home."*
>
> *—Baker-Cutler Report, Department of Energy, January 2001*

Why are Russian nuclear weapons of such concern to the United States?

Since the end of the Cold War, Russian society has undergone a remarkable transformation. While it has become a more free and open society, it has also become more chaotic and criminalized. A highly professional and well-trained segment of the Russian military guards its approximately 30,000 nuclear weapons and the nuclear materials that could make another 70,000. Nonetheless, reports of terrorist groups attempting to break into Russian nuclear storage sites have heightened anxieties. In the past decade, groups and individuals have successfully stolen weapons materials, only to be caught when attempting to export them from Russia.


SUMMERS THE ORLANDO SENTINEL ©2001
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BiO
TERRORISM
INCREASED
SECURITY
ANTHRAX
PROFILING
I MUST LIVE MY NORMAL LIFE ... I MUST LIVE MY NORMAL LIFE... I MUST LIVE MY NORMAL LIFE... I MUST LIVE MY NORMAL LIFE...
SUSPICION
TERRORIST
THREATS
HOAXES

Dales Summers in *The Orlando Sentinel*. Reprinted with permission.

> *"At various times from at least as early as 1992, Osama bin Laden and others, known and unknown, made efforts to obtain the components of nuclear weapons."*
>
> *—From the Justice Department Indictment for the 1998 Embassy Bombings*

How might nuclear weapons be used or delivered?

While no one knows if any terrorist group has acquired nuclear weapons, all are aware that any nuclear explosion would dwarf the devastation of the attacks of September 11. Experts point out that if a terrorist organization obtained the necessary radioactive materials, they might be able to produce a nuclear device within a year. Others worry that even if the terrorists could not produce a nuclear explosion, they could place radioactive materials around a conventional bomb. When this "dirty bomb" exploded it would shower poisonous radioactive materials on the surrounding area.

Most experts believe it unlikely that terrorists would deliver a nuclear weapon using conventional military means—launching a missile or dropping a bomb from a plane. However, they worry that a nuclear device could be smuggled into the United States, in a shipping container, for example. Even after September 11, only 10 percent of the 5,000 shipping containers that arrive daily in New York are x-rayed.

What about biological and chemical weapons?

The use of Sarin gas by the terrorist group Aum Shinrikyo in the Tokyo subways in 1995 and the appearance of highly potent anthrax in the U.S. mail

NUNN-LUGAR THREAT REDUCTION PROGRAMS

Many experts believe that the best way to reduce the threat of stolen or illegally sold weapons of mass destruction (WMD) is to go directly to the source. In addition to treaties intended to reduce the overall numbers of such weapons, the United States has sponsored programs throughout the former Soviet Union designed to help dismantle, dispose of, and safely store nuclear weapons materials. The programs, known as Nunn-Lugar for the senators who initiated them, have deactivated over 5,000 nuclear warheads and destroyed hundreds of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), missile silos, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, bombers, and nuclear test tunnels since 1991. All nuclear weapons have been removed from Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakstan, former Soviet Republics. The programs have cost around $500 million per year. The Baker-Cutler report calls for significant increases in these funds—an additional $30 billion over the next ten years. In March 2001, the Bush administration decided to reduce funding to these programs but changed course following September 11 and pledged to increase funding.

system in 2001 signify the crossing of an important threshold—the willingness of terrorists to use biological and chemical weapons of great destructive power. While it is possible for terrorists to manufacture these deadly weapons, making and delivering them is not simple and demands technical expertise and knowledge.

In fact, the United States and Russia possess 99 percent of the world's most deadly chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. Disaster could result if terrorists were able to obtain these weapons of mass destruction. In January 2001, a United States Department of Energy report identified the greatest threat to the United States as the theft or sale of WMDs from Russia to hostile states or terrorist groups.

U.S. POLICY

In the wake of the September 11 attacks, many people felt that the events represented the beginning of a "new world" that would redefine the nature and goals of international relations. Whether or not this is true, the attacks created new challenges and priorities for U.S. policy. Whatever course the U.S. decides to pursue, it seems likely that addressing terrorism will be a long-term effort, requiring policy makers to reexamine the allocation of the country's resources. Some warn that the struggle against terrorism has the potential to be like the Cold War before it, a long-term global struggle with an undeterminate end and uncertain future.

What might be the role of the military in future anti-terrorism campaigns?

America's initial military campaign in Afghanistan was dramatic and swift. The United States unleashed some of its most powerful and advanced weaponry as well as small groups of ground forces in support of a campaign led by various Afghan warlords opposed to the Taliban regime.

There have been calls from some quarters to strike against Saddam Hussein's Iraq because of his government's role in supporting terrorism and because of the fear that he is producing and will use weapons of mass destruction. Others have pointed with concern to Somalia, a state where the government is nearly non-existent and al Qaeda can operate with the cooperation of local warlords. More likely are ongoing small-scale operations using highly trained U.S. ground forces in cooperation with local governments or forces to attack and destroy terrorist cells.

Al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations scattered in small cells around the globe present new challenges to the U.S. military. It is not clear whether American forces will be able to operate worldwide in the manner and scope and with the apparent success that they have in Afghanistan. At this time, no other state is willing to harbor al Qaeda overtly, as the Taliban regime in Afghanistan did. This means that future targets in the U.S. campaign against terrorism may be less concentrated and well-defined.

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What other measures have been taken against al Qaeda and terrorism?

The United States has also used economic weapons in the fight against terrorism. Targeting the money that supports terrorism can be an important means of diminishing the capacity of terrorists to mount operations worldwide. The United States has moved to block the use of banks and informal money networks that channel funding for terrorist operations. In 1998, President Bill Clinton ordered the U.S. Treasury to block all financial transactions between al Qaeda and U.S. companies and citizens. Following September 11, President George W. Bush expanded the order to include charities suspected of channeling money to terrorist organizations. The United States has also begun to put pressure on foreign banks, in particular those with dealings in the Middle East, to make sure that they do not facilitate money laundering operations for terrorists. Substantial efforts will be necessary to facilitate the financial cooperation necessary to shut off the flow of money among terrorist operatives around the world, but there has been a dramatic increase in the willingness of states to try.

What has been the role of the United Nations in addressing terrorism?

The United Nations quickly condemned the events of September 11, calling the attacks "a threat to international peace and security." In the weeks and months following the attacks, the General Assembly and the Security Council passed resolutions condemning terrorism and calling on all states to eliminate the means by which terrorists could operate within their borders. Over the years, the UN has helped craft international agreements to combat terrorism. Since 1963, the United Nations has adopted numerous anti-terrorism treaties in an effort to force terrorists out of hiding and bring them to justice.

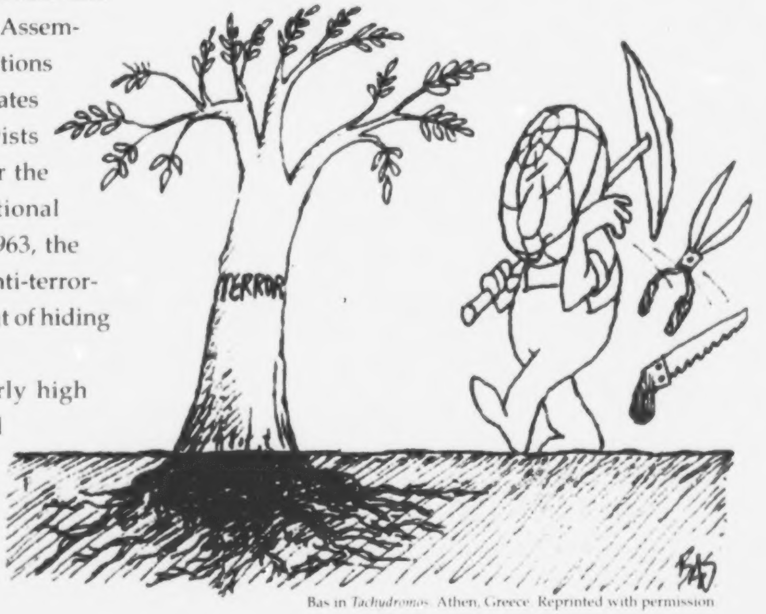
Concern at the UN runs particularly high about nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. The General Assembly's Ad Hoc Committee on Terrorism is now working to develop agreements on the elimination of terrorism and on the prevention of acts of nuclear terrorism.

> *"... a single attack involving a nuclear or biological weapon could have killed millions. There is much that we can do to help prevent future terrorist acts carried out with weapons of mass destruction."*
>
> *—Kofi Annan, UN Secretary General*

How has the United Nations tried to limit nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons?

Through international agreements, the United Nations has tried to limit the spread of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. The Bush administration has objected to all or parts of these agreements because it believes they contain flaws. For example, the United States blocked the passage of a draft protocol that would have attempted to strengthen the enforcement provisions of the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention, which the United States has ratified.

One of the most prominent arguments against these agreements is that they do not include means of preventing countries from cheating on the demands of the agreements. Also, critics say that these international regulations could violate U.S. sovereignty by limiting America's control over its military resources.



Bas in *Tachudromos.* Athen, Greece. Reprinted with permission

On the other hand, supporters assert that although the agreements are imperfect, the threats of WMD and terrorism demand that the United States drop its opposition and work to craft better agreements.

What new kinds of diplomatic cooperation between the United States and other nations have emerged since September 11?

For the United States to use its military in Afghanistan, it needed the diplomatic cooperation of longtime supporters, like the United Kingdom, Germany, and France. The location of Afghanistan meant that United States also needed cooperation from states with which the United States has had significant policy disagreements—for example, Pakistan, Iran, Uzbekistan, and Russia. The goal of victory in a war on terror has provided a motive for the United States to reshape and recraft its conduct toward these and other nations.

Pakistan: After September 11, the United States government worked quickly to gain the cooperation of Pakistan—cooperation that was necessary to conduct military operations against neighboring Afghanistan. The United States decided to lift economic sanctions imposed in 1998 against Pakistan for conducting tests of nuclear weapons. The Pakistani government agreed to allow U.S. troops to be based in Pakistan and to support the campaign against the Taliban government. The Taliban had been previously supported by Pakistan.

Iran: For some time, the United States labeled Iran as the world's leading sponsor of terrorism. Nonetheless, in recent years and particularly in the weeks after the terrorist attacks, the United States has tested the diplomatic waters with Iran. Iran's Islamist government had been at odds with its neighbor, the Taliban. Iran has agreed to search for and assist any U.S. military forced to crash-land in Iran.

Uzbekistan: The United States approached the government of Uzbekistan in September 2001 to discuss the possibility of using military bases there as a staging ground for war in Afghanistan. Although the United States had nurtured low-level military relations with Uzbekistan in recent years, the United States had also harshly criticized the country for its rejection of democracy and flagrant human rights abuses. As it did during the Cold War, the United States has found it necessary to align its interests with governments that do not practice the fundamental political principles that most Americans value.

Russia: Perhaps the most significant development is the evolution of relations with Russia. For several years Russia has been at war against rebels in the mostly Islamic province of Chechnya. While Russia had described it as a war against international Islamist terrorists, the United States had considered it an excessive use of military force and criticized Russia for continuous gross violations of human rights. Since September 11, U.S. criticism of the Russian campaign in Chechnya has been muted, as Russia has shared valuable intelligence information and provided military support in Afghanistan. However, several unresolved issues remain in U.S.-Russian relations. These include questions surrounding the proposed U.S. missile defense program and concerns about NATO expansion. U.S.-Russian negotiations on these issues will undoubtedly be affected by the two countries' relationship in the U.S. campaign against terrorism.

As the war against terrorism continues, the United States will likely continue to forge new alliances, some of convenience and some of shared principle. Balancing principles and security interests will remain a challenge for U.S. leaders and citizens.

White House Photo

Russian President Vladimir Putin and President George W. Bush

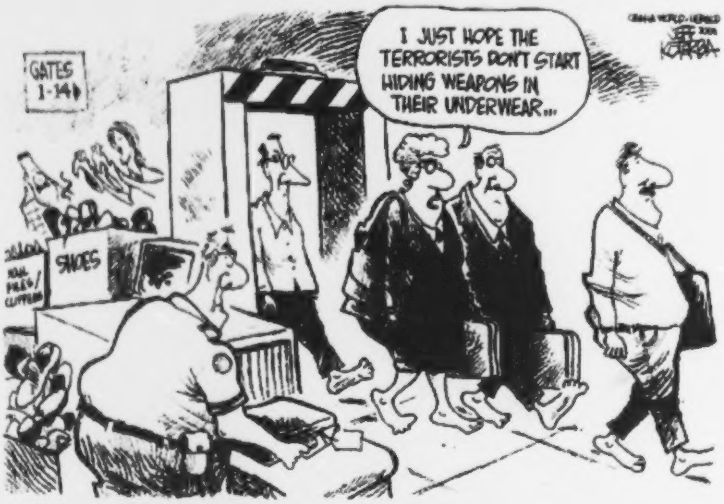
HERE IN THE UNITED STATES

In many ways the United States faces a similar balancing act at home. The domestic response to terrorist threats will have to include attention to increased security vigilance and to maintaining economic and societal openness. For years, many observers of international relations have noted the blurring between domestic and international issues. September 11 has reinforced this argument. There are several issues that policy makers will consider as they shape the domestic response to terrorism.

Civil Defense: During the Cold War, the United States devoted significant resources to protecting citizens in case of a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. The measures included building fall-out shelters stocked with food and water. Additionally, civilians, civil servants, and medical personnel practiced their response to a Soviet attack. In recent decades, this system of civil defense has fallen by the wayside. Following the terrorist attacks and the appearance of anthrax, there has been a call for additional resources to be devoted to preparing for a domestic response to an attack on the United States. This includes stockpiling vaccines and medications, as well as practicing responses to a chemical, biological, or nuclear attack.

Trade: The United States has long pursued a policy of economic openness and increased trade. Trade as a percentage of the U.S. economy has increased over the last decade. International trade, both imports and exports, totaled more than $2 trillion dollars in the past year. With increased trade comes increasing traffic over our borders in both goods and people. Managing this flow, so critical to the health of the U.S. economy, is an extremely complex job. The task of preventing terrorists from smuggling weapons into the United States, while allowing the economy to function, heightens the importance and complexity of the job.

Jeff Koterba in *The Omaha World Herald*. Reprinted with permission.


GATES 1-14
SHOES
I JUST HOPE THE TERRORISTS DON'T START HIDING WEAPONS IN THEIR UNDERWEAR...
OMAHA WORLD-HERALD
JEFF KOTERBA

> *"The plain fact is that the movement of goods in the U.S. is now so efficient that port security has been sacrificed."*
> *—Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-Connecticut)*

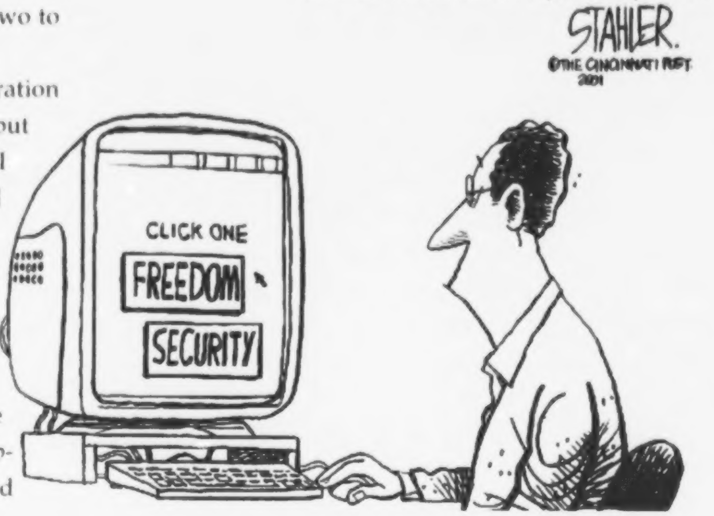
Infrastructure: The U.S. economy depends on critical infrastructure that is mostly privately owned and poorly protected against a determined attacker. Our transportation infrastructure, telecommunications equipment, and water and power supplies are critical to the daily functioning of the economy yet are vulnerable to all but amateur attacks.

In addition, in the interest of efficiency, infrastructure is often concentrated in limited areas. For example, on both the west and east coasts, petroleum deliveries are concentrated in regional ports. An attack on one of these ports, similar to the one on the U.S.S. *Cole* in Yemen in 2000, could paralyze a regional economy for weeks. For the U.S. Coast Guard, charged with providing seaport security, the challenges of increased vigilance are straining the limits of their personnel and equipment.

Visitors and Immigration: Another difficult task facing the government is keeping track of visitors to the United States. Of the 19 hijackers who commandeered the planes that crashed on September 11, all were foreign nationals. Sixteen entered the United States on legal visas. All but two kept a low profile and avoided suspicion. The FBI received information two weeks before September 11 connecting those two to the bombing of the U.S.S. *Cole*.

A search for the men began. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was alerted, but the two men could not be found. Because the FBI was not aware of a specific threat, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) and other authorities were not notified. Government officials agree that improved communication and coordination between agencies is important in the struggle to prevent terrorism.

In addition, the INS believes that ten of the hijackers were in the United States legally on September 11 and that 15 or 16 had originally entered


Jeff Stahler in *The Cincinnati Post*. Reprinted with permission

NEW LAWS AND PROPOSALS: BALANCING CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND SECURITY

New Laws:

Increased Surveillance of Phones and E-mail: A new law has been written that suspends the need to find "probable cause" before a search warrant can be issued. When terrorism is suspected, the Attorney General can now authorize searches to be conducted in secret without notifying a suspect of the search.

Attorney–Client Privilege: Communications between attorneys and their clients used to be private and confidential unless a judge found evidence of criminal plotting. Under new laws, the Attorney General may authorize surveillance of the attorney–client communications of any person suspected of any involvement in terrorism.

Detention of Foreign Nationals: Non-U.S. citizens may now be held by immigration officials for seven days without charges or detained indefinitely if they are seen as a threat to national security. Previously, noncitizens were given the same legal rights as citizens, including the right to be released if they were not charged within 48 hours.

Proposals:

National ID System: Supporters of a standard national identification card propose a system that is linked to several databases and that includes biometric information like fingerprints. Some suggest that unifying standards for obtaining drivers licenses would serve this purpose. Connecting databases between the INS, law enforcement agencies, and state departments of motor vehicles would prevent illegal residents from obtaining a driver license. Critics argue that sensitive personal information could be misused by the government.

Profiling by Law Enforcement: Those concerned with preventing terrorism point out that they do not have the resources to question everyone in their investigations, so they must choose whom to question. To do so, they use a technique called profiling. For example, airline security might choose to screen closely someone who paid for a ticket with cash, purchased a one-way ticket, or who was not carrying any luggage. Profiling based on ethnicity or race is illegal. However, many Americans feel that since the September 11 hijackers were of Middle Eastern origin, it is only prudent for security officials to pay close attention to travelers who appear to be Middle Eastern. Critics believe that such a policy would subject millions of Americans to unfair scrutiny and harassment solely because of their appearance or the color of their skin.

the country legally. The INS concedes the need to improve its methods of keeping track of those who visit the United States and tracking down those who overstay or misuse the visa required for entry.

> *"We must work with advanced technology and do all we can to improve our systems, but we should not mislead ourselves into thinking that technology alone can solve our problems."*
> *—James Ziglar, INS Commissioner*

Many argue that there is a strong need to reassess America's immigration system. They call on the government to devote more resources to ensuring that the United States scrutinizes more closely those whom it admits to the country, that people abide by the terms of their admission, and that the United States establishes better mechanisms for monitoring those who have been admitted. Much of this involves increasing resources and personnel. It will also require investing in technology that enables the FBI, the INS, and the Department of State to share information more easily.

At the same time, many economists attribute the success of the U.S. economy to the openness of our society and the influx of skills and labor from overseas. For example, recent immigrants from China and India started 30 percent of the high technology startups in Silicon Valley during the 1990s. Preserving the vitality that immigrants bring to the country is seen by many as extremely important.

> *"If, in response to the events of September 11, we engage in excess and shut out what has made America great, then we will have given terrorists a far greater victory than they could have hoped to achieve."*
> *—James Ziglar, INS Commissioner*

How has the United States acted to enhance domestic security?

The greatest threat to the economy of the United States may not be terrorism itself, but rather how the government responds to terrorism. For example, after the attacks of September 11, the commercial aviation fleet was grounded for several days, all inbound ships were halted, and the border crossings were tightened dramatically. This effectively shut off the transportation system that is central to the nation's economy. While most feel that this response was necessary under the circumstances, the United States faces the challenge of developing and enhancing security in ways that allow the transportation system to continue to function.

All of the agencies involved in protecting the ports and borders of the United States agree that they need to improve the way they share information with each other. Most federal agencies believe that the government needs to upgrade its computer systems to allow instantaneous sharing of information. For example, with improved electronic information systems, a ship's passenger list received by the Coast Guard could be checked against the FBI's watch list of suspected terrorists.

Why have technological innovations in the war against terrorism raised concerns about civil liberties?

While improving the sharing of information among federal agencies has met with wide approval, newly enacted laws and other proposals have raised concerns for some. In the weeks after September 11, many Americans expressed a willingness to tolerate more aggressive government law enforcement even if it meant giving up some freedoms. However, others worried about the possibility of the abuse of this power.

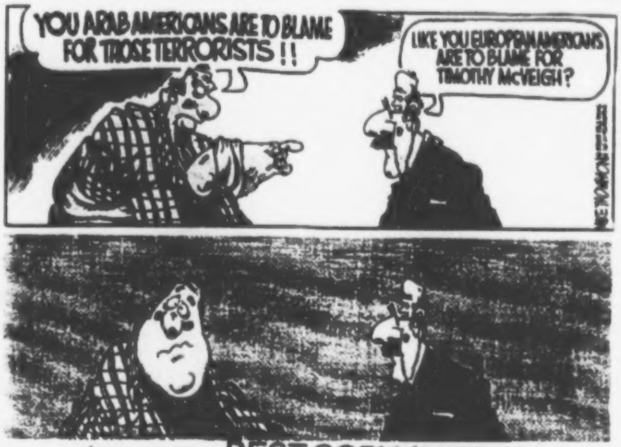
> *"September 11 has forced all but the most doctrinaire on the right and left to be open to a recalibration of the balance between security and liberty."*
> *—Senator Charles E. Schumer, (D-New York)*

What other concerns have arisen about protecting rights and the government's role in the war on terrorism?

Following the attacks of 2001, many Americans expressed the belief that they would have to give up some personal freedoms to make the country safe from terrorist attacks. Others expressed concern that the government was trampling on the rule of law. On November 1, 2001, the justice department reported that since September 11, 1,147 people had been arrested and detained for questioning or investigation. Of those arrested, the majority were men between 20 and 30 years old. Some were arrested for suspicious actions, such as applying for licenses to transport hazardous materials. Others were picked up because they were from an Islamic nation. Others were detained because they had connections to the hijackers. Still others were in violation of their visas.

Critics of federal policy on the right and left of the political spectrum argued that the federal administration was attempting to wield too much power with too little input from Congress and the courts. They argued that a connection must exist between a person and some criminal activity before he or she can be questioned.

> *"You're walking a very, very slippery slope to just bring people in to question them based on nothing more than some vague assertion that they might be connected with some group that might have had something to do with the attacks."*
>
> *—Representative Bob Barr (R-Georgia)*


YOU ARAB AMERICANS ARE TO BLAME FOR THOSE TERRORISTS !!
LIKE YOU EUROPEAN AMERICANS ARE TO BLAME FOR TIMOTHY McVEIGH?

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Comparing Military Tribunals and U.S. Civilian Courts

Federal Trial	**Military Tribunal**
Generally open to the public	May be closed to the public
Accused has access to evidence	Access to evidence may be restricted
Right to a trial by jury of one's peers	Composed of military officers
A finding of guilt must be unanimous	Guilty decision need not be unanimous
Death penalty decision must be unanimous	Death penalty decision need not be unanimous
Right to appeal death penalty	Death penalty may be imposed immediately

Why did the Bush administration propose using military tribunals to try terrorists?

As the government focused on capturing al Qaeda members in Afghanistan, questions emerged about the best way to try terrorists for their actions. Concern for protecting current intelligence sources and methods led the Bush administration to propose trying certain terrorists who were not U.S. citizens in military tribunals rather than in the American criminal justice system. Fears were also raised about communities and courthouses becoming targets if terrorists' trials were held there. Others expressed a reluctance to give terrorists the platform for expressing their views that a public trial might provide.

> *"Can you imagine apprehending a terrorist, either in the deserts of Afghanistan or on the way to the United States to commit a crime, and having to take them through the traditional justice system—reading them the Miranda rights, hiring a flamboyant lawyer at public expense, having sort of Osama television, maybe creating a new TV network practically on cable television to supervise that trial?"*
>
> *—Attorney General John Ashcroft*

Critics on the left and right expressed concern about the potential for abuse of such a system. They argued that the federal branch of the government was attempting to bypass the Constitution's checks and balances. They asserted that in military tribunals there would be no presumption of innocence, no independent juries, no right to choice of counsel, and no appeal to civilian judges for aliens suspected of being in touch with terrorists. Others noted that other nations had expressed concern about extraditing suspected terrorists if their fundamental rights to a fair and public trial were not protected.

> *"The Constitution was not written primarily for our convenience, but for our liberty. Any of the choices that we will face after September 11 will test both our ideals and our resolve to defend them."*
>
> *— Sen. Patrick Leahy, (D-Vermont)*

CONCLUSION

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider a range of alternatives for the U.S. response to terrorism. The issues are numerous and complex. Each of the four viewpoints, or options, that you will explore in the next part of this unit is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on our country's role in the world and in responding to terrorism. You should think of the options as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which Americans must craft future policy.

At the end of this unit, you will be asked to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions about where U.S. policy should be heading. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from several options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. You will need to weigh the risks and trade-offs of whatever you decide. There are, of course, no perfect solutions.

OPTIONS IN BRIEF

OPTION 1: DIRECT AN EXPANDED ASSAULT ON TERRORISM

The United States cannot tolerate acts of terrorism, those who perpetrate them, or those nations who harbor terrorists. As the sole remaining superpower, we have no choice but to take on the job of policeman. It is our responsibility and duty to protect ourselves and make the world safe from terrorists. We must recognize that the war on terrorism is a worldwide struggle and move forward with a worldwide offensive to combat it until all who threaten peace and security are destroyed. Although, as we have seen, it is helpful to have the cooperation of other nations, we must be prepared to fight terrorism — alone if necessary — wherever and whenever it threatens. Nothing less than our freedom is at stake.

OPTION 2: SUPPORT UN LEADERSHIP TO FIGHT TERRORISM

Terrorism is a global, not a national, problem. Today our security and the security of the rest of the civilized world depend upon our ability to work together to address this universal threat. We must recognize the UN as the entity with the legitimacy to develop and maintain a long-term, truly international effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism worldwide. We must play a leadership role in strengthening the effectiveness of the UN on security matters and offer our military, intelligence, and economic support to a UN-led effort to eradicate terrorist cells wherever they are found. We must stand with the world community against lawless terror.

OPTION 3: DEFEND OUR HOMELAND

The September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon brought a new message to Americans. We have been attacked on our own homeland and we feel a vulnerability not felt in more than fifty years. Our high-profile foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against us and made us enemies who are intent on doing us harm. It is time now to turn our attention to our own needs here at home. We must lower our foreign policy profile, get ourselves out of the sights of terrorists, and use the funds saved to build up our national defenses. While civil liberties are important to Americans, we must recognize that new policies are needed at home to protect our security.

OPTION 4: ADDRESS THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF TERRORISM

Terrorism is inexcusable. Crimes against humanity cannot be tolerated. However, further military action will only perpetuate the cycle of violence. We must abandon any plans for future military action and join with others to address the deeper issues underlying terrorism. Terrorism feeds on the frustrations of some of the world's most disadvantaged peoples. We must join with the developed world to devote our attention and our resources to launching a targeted "Marshall Plan" that addresses the underlying causes of terrorism. We must also examine our own policies in many parts of the world to see that we are not inflaming long-standing local and regional conflicts, fueling discontent, and creating a breeding ground for anti-American sentiment.

Option
1

DIRECT AN EXPANDED ASSAULT ON TERRORISM

The United States cannot tolerate acts of terrorism, those who perpetrate them, or those nations who harbor terrorists. We cannot allow the disease of terrorism to plague our nation and the world. To protect our country's security at home and interests abroad, the United States must draw a clear line. On one side are freedom, democracy, and the rule of law. On the other are the forces of lawlessness and terrorism. They must be rooted out and stopped.

As the sole remaining superpower, we have no choice but to take on the job of policeman. It is our responsibility and duty to protect ourselves and make the world safe from terrorists. The attacks of September 11 required a swift and decisive military response. The initial success of this mission suggests that the United States has the military might needed to root out terrorists. Now that we have driven the Taliban out of power in Afghanistan and Al Qaeda is on the run in that area, we should not let up. We must recognize that the war on terrorism is a worldwide struggle and move forward with a worldwide offensive to combat it until all who threaten peace and security are destroyed. Although, as we have seen in the war in Afghanistan, it is helpful to have the cooperation of other nations, we must accept that frequently their internal constraints will limit their ability to collaborate on our terms. Likewise, whenever it is possible we should work with indigenous forces willing to fight a terrorist group and the government that supports it. Nonetheless, we must be prepared to fight terrorism—alone if necessary—wherever and whenever it threatens. Nothing less than our freedom is at stake.

What should we do?

- We should devote more of our resources to our military forces.
- We should increase our intelligence capacity.
- We should freeze the assets of suspected terrorist organizations and put pressure on other governments to do the same.
- We should take the war on terrorism to any nation that harbors international terrorists.

Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

National security must be our first priority. We must concentrate our efforts on those issues that are of vital importance to U.S. interests. That means focusing our energies on protecting our own security, cultivating our partnerships with nations that respect our interests, and controlling access to weapons of mass destruction.

The attacks of September 11 have demonstrated that the world is a dangerous place and we are a part of it. There is no place to hide. And there is no hope of compromise with fanatics who despise our values and our way of life. Americans must realize that our country's strength and influence present an irresistible target for hatemongers and terrorists.

We should act in the name of peace and the rule of law, but we must be willing to defend our principles with military force when necessary. By standing up for American values, we have the power to make the world a safer and more humane place for everyone.

PROS

ARGUMENTS FOR

- Acting alone when necessary avoids the difficulties that arise from seeking cooperation with other nations that have different political interests and constraints.

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- By engaging indigenous forces to fight terrorist groups and their government sponsors, as we did in Afghanistan, we can save American lives.

- Being free of the bureaucracy and political constraints of multinational decision making will allow us to respond more quickly where and when we need to.

CONS

ARGUMENTS AGAINST

- As the U.S. expands the war on terrorism under its own leadership and on its own terms, anti-American sentiment in other countries will only increase, fueling further terrorism.

- It will require the help of many nations to break up the decentralized network of terrorist cells that currently exists around the world. If we act unilaterally without regard for the concerns or constraints of other countries, we will lose their support.

- Getting involved with indigenous forces may be expedient at the outset but the risk is too great that, after the victory, we will be dragged into supporting and protecting groups that we really do not approve of or that we can not trust.

- While it may appear that U.S. led military action has been successful in Afghanistan, continued unilateral military campaigns to root out terrorism around the world will eventually anger the world community.

- This response fails to address the underlying causes of terrorism, including a deep-seated resentment of the United States, and will instead only lead to a continuing cycle of violence and more deaths of innocent people.

- A military response is bound to result in the deaths of innocent civilians. Our country must respond to terrorism in ways that preserve our national ethics and democratic traditions.

- Action overseas diverts resources needed for protection here at home.

Option 2

SUPPORT UN LEADERSHIP TO FIGHT TERRORISM

Terrorism is a global, not a national, problem. When the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were attacked on September 11, the nations of the world came together in recognition that these attacks were more than attacks on the United States—they were crimes against humanity. Today our security and the security of the rest of the civilized world depend upon our ability to work together to address this universal threat.

In the weeks following the September 11 attacks, the United States worked swiftly to build a coalition of nations prepared to employ a range of diplomatic, financial, intelligence, and military resources to identify, find, and stop the perpetrators of the attacks. With the operation in Afghanistan moving into a new phase, now it is time to shift gears. We must recognize the UN as the entity with the legitimacy to develop and maintain a long-term, truly international effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism worldwide. We must play a leadership role in strengthening the effectiveness of the UN on security matters and offer our military, intelligence, and economic support to a UN-led effort to eradicate terrorist cells wherever they are found. Together we must hold those who have perpetrated terrorist acts accountable by bringing them to justice before the International Criminal Court. We must also support UN efforts to eradicate biological and chemical weapons worldwide and to strengthen nuclear arms control. We must stand with the world community against lawless terror and contribute our strength to the international community to address and ultimately eliminate the threat of terrorism.

What should we do?

- We should lead efforts to strengthen the hand of the UN on security matters.
- We should debate any response to future terrorist acts against the United States before the UN General Assembly of the UN and the UN Security Council.
- We should become members of the International Criminal Court and prosecute international terrorists there.
- We should ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), and we should work with the UN to strengthen the conventions limiting chemical and biological weapons.

Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

We live in an interdependent and interconnected world. The security of countries around the world is threatened by international terrorism. We cannot separate U.S. problems from the problems affecting the world as a whole.

In today's increasingly complex international and domestic environment, we have no choice but to accommodate the interests of a broad and disparate group of nations.

A unilateralist U.S. foreign policy only fuels the spread of anti-American feeling.

PROS

ARGUMENTS FOR

- International cooperation brings together the financial, diplomatic, and intelligence tools necessary to address international terrorism.

- A long-term effort to control and eventually wipe out terrorism will require the full participation of the international community. Cooperating as a partner with other nations through the UN will create a truly international response to terrorism, one that reflects the interests and needs of all of the international community and denies hiding places to terrorists anywhere.

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- The members of the international community will not continue to collaborate unless the decision-making takes all perspectives and interests into account. This will only happen if leadership is shared.

CONS

ARGUMENTS AGAINST

- When U.S. interests are attacked — here or abroad — we have a right to do what is necessary to defend ourselves, with or without the support of other nations and international organizations.

- Any international coalition will be ineffective without strong U.S. leadership. For that leadership to be effective, we must not be constrained by others in either the nature or the timing of our response.

- The UN already has conventions prohibiting terrorism and biological weapons and has been unable to enforce them. Why will the UN be any more effective now?

- The UN is too slow, too weak, and too indecisive to make any real difference. Giving the institution more power is at best a long-term proposition. It won't do anything for the terrorist threat today.

- While an international effort may be necessary to correctly identify the perpetrators of terrorism and bring them to justice, terrorism will not end until we address its root causes.

- Accommodating other nations' interests in a UN campaign against international terrorism will lead us to compromise our nation's values and force us to support positions abroad that we do not agree with.

- If we pledge to join with the UN in an all-out campaign against international terrorism, we may be forced to spend too much of our own resources on international initiatives at the expense of defending ourselves at home.

Option
3

DEFEND OUR HOMELAND

The September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon brought a new message to Americans. We have been attacked on our own homeland, and we feel a vulnerability not felt in more than fifty years. In the wake of the attacks the stakes have risen still higher as a new threat—biological terrorism—has reached into the workplace and even into our homes. Still more chilling is the prospect that nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons could be used by terrorists and that they could strike at any time.

Since the late 1940s, the United States has spent hundreds of billions of dollars a year defending our allies in Western Europe and East Asia. We have distributed tens of billions more in foreign aid to countries throughout the developing world. And what do we have to show for our efforts? Our high-profile foreign policy programs have only bred resentment against us and made us enemies who are intent on doing us harm. This is especially true of our troops based in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf region. It is time now to turn our attention to our own needs here at home. We would be foolhardy to expand our international efforts into a wider assault on terrorism. Taking sides in the battles of other nations (such as Israel's with Hamas) will only increase our own vulnerability by drawing the attention of a wider circle of terrorists. Rather, we must lower our foreign policy profile, get ourselves out of the sights of terrorists, and build up our national defenses. With the funds saved as a result of our sharply reduced international involvement, we can devote significant national resources to the protection of the American homeland. The establishment of a Director of Homeland Defense was an important first step in addressing our vulnerability here at home. However, it is only a beginning. While civil liberties are important to Americans, we must recognize that we are in a new world. The government must be allowed to take new steps to protect our security.

What should we do?

- We should scale back our foreign involvement by cutting foreign aid programs and bringing U.S. troops home.
- We should build up our intelligence capacity with a focus on understanding the threats that face us here at home.
- We should launch a coordinated national effort to develop defenses against the new threats that face us—biological, chemical, or nuclear attacks.
- We should establish a national identity card, tighten immigration laws, closely watch high-risk ethnic groups, and allow broader monitoring of communications in order to keep tabs on potential terrorists.

Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

A nation's first responsibility is to defend its citizens from harm.

We must look out for our own interests first. Focusing on other countries' problems is a waste of precious resources at a time when those resources are needed at home.

Meddling in the affairs of other nations and peoples inevitably creates resentment against us.

PROS

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CONS

ARGUMENTS FOR

- Recent biological attacks here at home only underscore how vulnerable we are. We live in a world where a small handful of angry individuals can wreak havoc with a small amount of weapons-grade biological or chemical material or a "dirty bomb" in a suitcase. Being prepared for such attacks will save American lives.

- By limiting any response only to those who directly threaten us, we will avoid needlessly drawing the wrath of a wider circle of terrorist organizations.

- The less we are involved in the affairs of other nations, the less likely we are to attract the wrath of others.

- Resources saved from international involvement can be redirected to promote enhanced security at home.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST

- Withdrawing from the international community will not protect us from possible attack. As long as there are haves and have-nots in the world, we will remain a target for terrorism. There is nowhere to hide.

- As we have already seen, the United States cannot defend itself against all possible means that terrorists have at their disposal. Our only practical and moral choice is to address the root causes of international terrorism.

- Terrorism is globalized. It will be impossible to get a full picture of the terrorist threats facing us if we do not bring our intelligence resources together with those of the rest of the world. That integration of intelligence capacity will not happen if we withdraw from the international community.

- A determination to address our vulnerability to international terrorism solely with civil defense measures at home will inevitably lead to compromising the civil liberties on which our nation was founded. At that point, what are we protecting?

Option
4

ADDRESS THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF TERRORISM

Terrorism is inexcusable. Crimes against humanity cannot be tolerated. However, further military action will only perpetuate the cycle of violence, dragging us into a war of strike and counterstrike that could last for generations. We will not solve the problem of terrorism simply by punishing terrorists. To focus our response to the September 11 attacks only on those who perpetrated them is to treat the symptom rather than the disease.

We must recognize that terrorism aimed at us grows out of a deep resentment of the United States—particularly in the Islamic world. Clearly we must devote resources to improving security in our own country. However, if we are going to end the cycle of violence in which we are caught, we must halt our offensive military operations in Afghanistan and devote our resources to reconstruction in the region. We must also abandon any plans for further military action elsewhere (such as in Iraq). Finally, we must join with all civilized nations around the world to address the deeper issues underlying terrorism. Terrorism feeds on the frustrations of some of the world's most disadvantaged peoples. We must join with the developed world to devote our attention and our resources to launching a targeted "Marshall Plan" that addresses the underlying causes of terrorism—poverty, political powerlessness, hatred, and lack of human rights, including education and health care. We must also examine our own policies in many parts of the world to see that we are not inflaming long-standing local and regional conflicts, fueling discontent, and creating a breeding ground for anti-American sentiment.

What should we do?

- We should refocus our funding priorities to improve the quality of life of disadvantaged populations around the world.
- We should work for just resolutions to long-term political conflicts (such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) that provide breeding grounds for terrorism.
- We should provide resources in support of the UN's reconstruction and development efforts in Afghanistan.
- We should end our support of regimes that do not support human rights and democratic principles.

Option 4 is based on the following beliefs

Building a more equitable and cooperative world will not be easy. In the end, however, we must recognize that our fate as Americans is bound together with the fate of all of humanity. We must meet the global challenges of the future together.

If we do not address the underlying causes of terrorism—including poverty, powerlessness, hatred, and in some cases U.S. policy—we risk feeding anti-American rage and creating new recruits to terrorist networks.

Addressing poverty and despair among the world's least fortunate is the right thing to do. If we are going to present ourselves as a model for others, we must reconcile our actions abroad with our stated principles.

PROS

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CONS

ARGUMENTS FOR

- Only by addressing the underlying causes of terrorism, including those conditions that have fed a deep-seated resentment of the United States, will terrorism be stopped.

- Taking a leadership role in addressing the humanitarian needs of populations in failing states will reduce animosity toward the United States. This is not only a humanitarian issue; it has become a security issue as well.

- By addressing the underlying causes of terrorism, we will be able to avoid putting our civil liberties at risk from repressive homeland security measures.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST

- Addressing the underlying causes of terrorism will take time. Meanwhile we remain vulnerable to more terrorist attacks. Homeland security can only do so much. We have to act now to stop these terrorist attacks at their source.

- Neither the United States nor the international community has the resources to address all of the underlying causes of terrorism.

- We can not afford to redirect so much of our budget to development efforts overseas at a time when those resources are needed to build up our defenses here at home.

- If we focus our efforts on long-term solutions, we will be allowing terrorists to commit horrible crimes without immediate consequences. This will make room for additional attacks both at home and abroad.

- There will always be hatred. There will always be violence. No amount of foreign aid will change this. We have no real control over anything but our own security.

SUPPLEMENTARY DOCUMENTS

(On February 23, 1998, Osama bin Laden issued a call for attacks on all Americans and announced the creation of the International Islamic Front for Jihad Against the Jews and Crusaders. The original Arabic version of this statement can be found online at http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/mideast/fatw2.htm.)

Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders
World Islamic Front Statement
23 February 1998

Shaykh Usamah Bin-Muhammad Bin-Ladin
Ayman al-Zawahiri, amir of the Jihad Group in Egypt
Abu-Yasir Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, Egyptian Islamic Group
Shaykh Mir Hamzah, secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan
Fazlur Rahman, amir of the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh

Praise be to Allah, who revealed the Book, controls the clouds, defeats factionalism, and says in His Book: "But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war)"; and peace be upon our Prophet, Muhammad Bin-'Abdallah, who said: I have been sent with the sword between my hands to ensure that no one but Allah is worshipped, Allah who put my livelihood under the shadow of my spear and who inflicts humiliation and scorn on those who disobey my orders.

The Arabian Peninsula has never—since Allah made it flat, created its desert, and encircled it with seas—been stormed by any forces like the crusader armies spreading in it like locusts, eating its riches and wiping out its plantations. All this is happening at a time in which nations are attacking Muslims like people fighting over a plate of food. In the light of the grave situation and the lack of support, we and you are obliged to discuss current events, and we should all agree on how to settle the matter.

No one argues today about three facts that are known to everyone; we will list them, in order to remind everyone:

First, for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples.

If some people have in the past argued about the fact of the occupation, all the people of the Peninsula have now acknowledged it. The best proof of this is the Americans' continuing aggression against the Iraqi people using the Peninsula as a staging post, even though all its rulers are against their territories being used to that end, but they are helpless.

Second, despite the great devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people by the crusader-Zionist alliance, and despite the huge number of those killed, which has exceeded 1 million... despite all this, the Americans are once again trying to repeat the horrific massacres, as though they are not content with the protracted blockade imposed after the ferocious war or the fragmentation and devastation.

So here they come to annihilate what is left of this people and to humiliate their Muslim neighbors.

Third, if the Americans' aims behind these wars are religious and economic, the aim is also to serve the Jews' petty state and divert attention from its occupation of Jerusalem and murder of Muslims there.

The best proof of this is their eagerness to destroy Iraq, the strongest neighboring Arab state, and their endeavor to fragment all the states of the region such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan into paper statelets and through their disunion and weakness to guarantee Israel's survival and the continuation of the brutal crusade occupation of the Peninsula.

All these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on Allah, his messenger, and Muslims. And ulema have throughout Islamic history unanimously agreed that the jihad is an individual duty if the enemy destroys the Muslim countries. This was revealed by Imam Bin-Qadamah in "Al- Mughni," Imam al-Kisa'i in "Al-Bada'i," al-Qurtubi in his interpretation, and the shaykh of al-Islam in his books, where he said: "As for the fighting to repulse [an enemy], it is aimed at defending sanctity and religion, and it is a duty as agreed [by the ulema]. Nothing is more sacred than belief except repulsing an enemy who is attacking religion and life."

On that basis, and in compliance with Allah's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims:

The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty Allah, "and fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together," and "fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah."

This is in addition to the words of Almighty Allah: "And why should ye not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)?—women and children, whose cry is: 'Our Lord, rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from thee one who will help!'"

We—with Allah's help—call on every Muslim who believes in Allah and wishes to be rewarded to comply with Allah's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it. We also call on Muslim ulema, leaders, youths, and soldiers to launch the raid on Satan's U.S. troops and the devil's supporters allying with them, and to displace those who are behind them so that they may learn a lesson.

Almighty Allah said: "O ye who believe, give your response to Allah and His Apostle, when He calleth you to that which will give you life. And know that Allah cometh between a man and his heart, and that it is He to whom ye shall all be gathered."

Almighty Allah also says: "O ye who believe, what is the matter with you, that when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of Allah, ye cling so heavily to the earth! Do ye prefer the life of this world to the hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the hereafter. Unless ye go forth, He will punish you with a grievous penalty, and put others in your place; but Him ye would not harm in the least. For Allah hath power over all things."

Almighty Allah also says: "So lose no heart, nor fall into despair. For ye must gain mastery if ye are true in faith."

UN RESOLUTION 1373

(This resolution was adopted by the Security Council at its 4385th meeting, on September 28, 2001. Additional information about the UN response to terrorism can be found at:
http://www.un.org/terrorism/)

The Security Council,

Reaffirming
its resolutions 1269 (1999) of 19 October 1999 and 1368 (2001) of 12 September 2001,

Reaffirming also
its unequivocal condemnation of the terrorist attacks which took place in New York, Washington, D.C. and Pennsylvania on 11 September 2001, and expressing its determination to prevent all such acts,

Reaffirming further
that such acts, like any act of international terrorism, constitute a threat to international peace and security,

Reaffirming
the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence as recognized by the Charter of the United Nations as reiterated in resolution 1368 (2001),

Reaffirming
the need to combat by all means, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts,

Deeply concerned
by the increase, in various regions of the world, of acts of terrorism motivated by intolerance or extremism,

Calling
on States to work together urgently to prevent and suppress terrorist acts, including through increased cooperation and full implementation of the relevant international conventions relating to terrorism,

Recognizing
the need for States to complement international cooperation by taking additional measures to prevent and suppress, in their territories through all lawful means, the financing and preparation of any acts of terrorism,

Reaffirming
the principle established by the General Assembly in its declaration of October 1970 (resolution 2625 (XXV)) and reiterated by the Security Council in its resolution 1189 (1998) of 13 August 1998, namely that every State has the duty to refrain from organizing, instigating, assisting or participating in terrorist acts in another State or acquiescing in organized activities within its territory directed towards the commission of such acts,

Acting
under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. *Decides* that all States shall:

(a) Prevent and suppress the financing of terrorist acts;

(b) Criminalize the wilful provision or collection, by any means, directly or indirectly, of funds by their nationals or in their territories with the intention that the funds should be used, or in the knowledge that they are to be used, in order to carry out terrorist acts;

(c) Freeze without delay funds and other financial assets or economic resources of persons who commit, or attempt to commit, terrorist acts or participate in or facilitate the commission of terrorist acts; of entities owned or controlled directly or indirectly by such persons; and of persons and entities acting on behalf of, or at the direction of such persons and entities, including funds derived or generated from property owned or controlled directly or indirectly by such persons and associated persons and entities;

(d) Prohibit their nationals or any persons and entities within their territories from making any funds, financial assets or economic resources or financial or other related services available, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of persons who commit or attempt to commit or facilitate or participate in the commission of terrorist acts, of entities owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by such persons and of persons and entities acting on behalf of or at the direction of such persons;

2. *Decides* also that all States shall:

(a) Refrain from providing any form of support, active or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist acts, including by suppressing recruitment of members of terrorist groups and eliminating the supply of weapons to terrorists;

(b) Take the necessary steps to prevent the commission of terrorist acts, including by provision of early warning to other States by exchange of information;

(c) Deny safe haven to those who finance, plan, support, or commit terrorist acts, or provide safe havens;

(d) Prevent those who finance, plan, facilitate or commit terrorist acts from using their respective territories for those purposes against other States or their citizens;

(e) Ensure that any person who participates in the financing, planning, preparation or perpetration of terrorist acts or in supporting terrorist acts is brought to justice and ensure that, in addition to any other measures against them, such terrorist acts are established as serious criminal offences in domestic laws and regulations and that the punishment duly reflects the seriousness of such terrorist acts;

(f) Afford one another the greatest measure of assistance in connection with criminal investigations or criminal proceedings relating to the financing or support of terrorist acts, including assistance in obtaining evidence in their possession necessary for the proceedings;

(g) Prevent the movement of terrorists or terrorist groups by effective border controls and controls on issuance of identity papers and travel documents, and through measures for preventing counterfeiting, forgery or fraudulent use of identity papers and travel documents;

3. *Calls* upon all States to:

(a) Find ways of intensifying and accelerating the exchange of operational information, especially regarding actions or movements of terrorist persons or networks; forged or falsified travel documents; traffic in arms, explosives or sensitive materials; use of communications technologies by terrorist groups; and the threat posed by the possession of weapons of mass destruction by terrorist groups;

(b) Exchange information in accordance with international and domestic law and cooperate on administrative and judicial matters to prevent the commission of terrorist acts;

(c) Cooperate, particularly through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and agreements, to prevent and suppress terrorist attacks and take action against perpetrators of such acts;

(d) Become parties as soon as possible to the relevant international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, including the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism of 9 December 1999;

(e) Increase cooperation and fully implement the relevant international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism and Security Council resolutions 1269 (1999) and 1368 (2001);

(f) Take appropriate measures in conformity with the relevant provisions of national and international law, including international standards of human rights, before granting refugee status, for the purpose of ensuring that the asylum-seeker has not planned, facilitated or participated in the commission of terrorist acts;

(g) Ensure, in conformity with international law, that refugee status is not abused by the perpetrators, organizers or facilitators of terrorist acts, and that claims of political motivation are not recognized as grounds for refusing requests for the extradition of alleged terrorists;

4. *Notes* with concern the close connection between international terrorism and transnational organized crime, illicit drugs, money-laundering, illegal arms-trafficking, and illegal movement of nuclear, chemical, biological and other potentially deadly materials, and in this regard emphasizes the need to enhance coordination of efforts on national, subregional, regional and international levels in order to strengthen a global response to this serious challenge and threat to international security;

5. *Declares* that acts, methods, and practices of terrorism are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and that knowingly financing, planning and inciting terrorist acts are also contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations;

6. *Decides* to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to monitor implementation of this resolution, with the assistance of appropriate expertise, and calls upon all States to report to the Committee, no

later than 90 days from the date of adoption of this resolution and thereafter according to a timetable to be proposed by the Committee, on the steps they have taken to implement this resolution;

7. *Directs* the Committee to delineate its tasks, submit a work programme within 30 days of the adoption of this resolution, and to consider the support it requires, in consultation with the Secretary-General;

8. *Expresses* its determination to take all necessary steps in order to ensure the full implementation of this resolution, in accordance with its responsibilities under the Charter;

9. *Decides* to remain seized of this matter.

USA PATRIOT ACT

(Included below is the table of contents of the USA PATRIOT ACT enacted as law to combat terrorism. The full text can be found at www.house.gov/judiciary/hr2975terrorismbill.pdf)

107th CONGRESS
1st Session
H. R. 3162

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
October 24, 2001

AN ACT

To deter and punish terrorist acts in the United States and around the world, to enhance law enforcement investigatory tools, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE- This Act may be cited as the 'Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001'.

(b) TABLE OF CONTENTS- The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title and table of contents.
Sec. 2. Construction; severability.

TITLE I—ENHANCING DOMESTIC SECURITY AGAINST TERRORISM
Sec. 101. Counterterrorism fund.
Sec. 102. Sense of Congress condemning discrimination against Arab and Muslim Americans.
Sec. 103. Increased funding for the technical support center at the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
Sec. 104. Requests for military assistance to enforce prohibition in certain emergencies.
Sec. 105. Expansion of National Electronic Crime Task Force Initiative.
Sec. 106. Presidential authority.

TITLE II—ENHANCED SURVEILLANCE PROCEDURES
Sec. 201. Authority to intercept wire, oral, and electronic communications relating to terrorism.
Sec. 202. Authority to intercept wire, oral, and electronic communications relating to computer fraud and abuse offenses.
Sec. 203. Authority to share criminal investigative information.
Sec. 204. Clarification of intelligence exceptions from limitations on interception and disclosure of wire, oral, and electronic communications.
Sec. 205. Employment of translators by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
Sec. 206. Roving surveillance authority under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978.
Sec. 207. Duration of FISA surveillance of non-United States persons who are agents of a foreign power.

Sec. 208. Designation of judges.
Sec. 209. Seizure of voice-mail messages pursuant to warrants.
Sec. 210. Scope of subpoenas for records of electronic communications.
Sec. 211. Clarification of scope.
Sec. 212. Emergency disclosure of electronic communications to protect life and limb.
Sec. 213. Authority for delaying notice of the execution of a warrant.
Sec. 214. Pen register and trap and trace authority under FISA.
Sec. 215. Access to records and other items under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act.
Sec. 216. Modification of authorities relating to use of pen registers and trap and trace devices.
Sec. 217. Interception of computer trespasser communications.
Sec. 218. Foreign intelligence information.
Sec. 219. Single-jurisdiction search warrants for terrorism.
Sec. 220. Nationwide service of search warrants for electronic evidence.
Sec. 221. Trade sanctions
Sec. 222. Assistance to law enforcement agencies.
Sec. 223. Civil liability for certain unauthorized disclosures.
Sec. 224. Sunset.
Sec. 225. Immunity for compliance with FISA wiretap.

TITLE III—INTERNATIONAL MONEY LAUNDERING ABATEMENT AND ANTI-TERRORIST FINANCING ACT OF 2001

Sec. 301. Short title.
Sec. 302. Findings and purposes.
Sec. 303. 4-year congressional review; expedited consideration.

Subtitle A--International Counter Money Laundering and Related Measures

Sec. 311. Special measures for jurisdictions, financial institutions, or international transactions of primary money laundering concern.
Sec. 312. Special due diligence for correspondent accounts and private banking accounts.
Sec. 313. Prohibition on United States correspondent accounts with foreign shell banks.
Sec. 314. Cooperative efforts to deter money laundering.
Sec. 315. Inclusion of foreign corruption offenses as money laundering crimes.
Sec. 316. Anti-terrorist forfeiture protection.
Sec. 317. Long-arm jurisdiction over foreign money launderers.
Sec. 318. Laundering money through a foreign bank.
Sec. 319. Forfeiture of funds in United States interbank accounts.
Sec. 320. Proceeds of foreign crimes.
Sec. 321. Financial institutions specified in subchapter II of chapter 53 of title 31, United States code.
Sec. 322. Corporation represented by a fugitive.
Sec. 323. Enforcement of foreign judgments.
Sec. 324. Report and recommendation.
Sec. 325. Concentration accounts at financial institutions.
Sec. 326. Verification of identification.
Sec. 327. Consideration of anti-money laundering record.
Sec. 328. International cooperation on identification of originators of wire transfers.

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Sec. 329. Criminal penalties.
Sec. 330. International cooperation in investigations of money laundering, financial crimes, and the finances of terrorist groups.

Subtitle B--Bank Secrecy Act Amendments and Related Improvements

Sec. 351. Amendments relating to reporting of suspicious activities.
Sec. 352. Anti-money laundering programs.
Sec. 353. Penalties for violations of geographic targeting orders and certain recordkeeping requirements, and lengthening effective period of geographic targeting orders.
Sec. 354. Anti-money laundering strategy.
Sec. 355. Authorization to include suspicions of illegal activity in written employment references.
Sec. 356. Reporting of suspicious activities by securities brokers and dealers; investment company study.
Sec. 357. Special report on administration of bank secrecy provisions.
Sec. 358. Bank secrecy provisions and activities of United States intelligence agencies to fight international terrorism.
Sec. 359. Reporting of suspicious activities by underground banking systems.
Sec. 360. Use of authority of United States Executive Directors.
Sec. 361. Financial crimes enforcement network.
Sec. 362. Establishment of highly secure network.
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Sec. 364. Uniform protection authority for Federal Reserve facilities.
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Subtitle C--Currency Crimes and Protection

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Sec. 402. Northern border personnel.
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Sec. 404. Limited authority to pay overtime.
Sec. 405. Report on the integrated automated fingerprint identification system for ports of entry and overseas consular posts.

Subtitle B--Enhanced Immigration Provisions

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Sec. 412. Mandatory detention of suspected terrorists; habeas corpus; judicial review.
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Sec. 612. Technical correction with respect to expedited payments for heroic public safety officers.
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Sec. 1012. Limitation on issuance of hazmat licenses.

Sec. 1013. Expressing the sense of the senate concerning the provision of funding for bioterrorism preparedness and response.

Sec. 1014. Grant program for State and local domestic preparedness support.

Sec. 1015. Expansion and reauthorization of the crime identification technology act for antiterrorism grants to States and localities.

Sec. 1016. Critical infrastructures protection.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOURCES

Ajami, Fouad. *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: A Generation's Odyssey* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998). 344 pages.

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